

PERIODICAL ROOM  
GENERAL LIBRARY  
UNIV. OF MICH.

PERIODICAL ROOM  
GENERAL LIBRARY  
UNIV. OF MICH.

# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

April  
1947

The American Family and Its Housing

Official Journal of the  
American Sociological Society

Volume 12

Number 2

# Understanding Society

By HOWARD W. ODUM

*Kenan Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina*

Written by one of America's foremost sociologists, this new text for introductory courses in sociology presents a logical and comprehensive description of society and social behavior. Well adapted to the interests of the student, the book is distinguished by its modern point of view and up-to-date material, its careful treatment of the concepts of regionalism and technicways, and its sound social theory.

Throughout the book the author has used modern methods of statistical analysis; and has featured the newer methods of teaching. A bibliography, questions and problems are given at the end of each chapter. Over 200 maps, charts, and photographs illustrate the text.

*To be published in the summer.*

*\$4.50 (probable)*

The Macmillan Company

*When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*



# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

April  
1947

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

Volume 12  
Number 2

## EDITORIAL BOARD

### Editor

ROBERT C. ANGELL

### Managing Editor

ERNEST R. MOWRER

### President

LOUIS WIRTH

### Assistant Editors

HOWARD BECKER

KINGSLEY DAVIS

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

ROBERT K. MERTON

FRANK LORIMER

IRA DE A. REID

### Book Review Editor

LOWELL J. CARR

### Editorial Staff

AMOS H. HAWLEY

HORACE M. MINER

THEODORE M. NEWCOMB

ARTHUR E. WOOD

## ★ THE AMERICAN FAMILY AND ITS HOUSING ★

### Contents

Housing as a Field of Sociological Research .....	LOUIS WIRTH	137
New Methods of Sociological Research on Housing Problems .....	F. STUART CHAPIN	143
Current Sources of Sociological Data in Housing .....	HOWARD G. BRUNSMAN	150
Sociological Perspective in Home Planning .....	SVEND RIEMER	155
Interaction of Generations and Family Stability .....	ROBERT E. L. FARIS	159
The Family Cycle .....	PAUL C. GLICK	164
Progress Report on the Study of Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility .....	CLYDE V. KISER and P. K. WHELPTON	175
Predicting Marital Adjustment by Comparing a Divorced and a Happily Married Group .....	HARVEY J. LOCKE	187
The Role of the Guest: A Study in Child Development .....	JAMES H. S. BOSSARD and ELEANOR S. BOLL	192
Transitional Adjustments of Japanese-American Families to Relocation .....	LEONARD BLOOM	201
Official Reports and Proceedings		
Statement of the President .....		210
Announcement from the Committee on Social Statistics .....		210
Minutes of the First Meeting of the Executive Council, December 27, 1946 .....		211
Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Executive Council, December 29, 1946 .....		212
Minutes of the First Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December 29, 1946 .....		213
Minutes of the Second Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December 30, 1946 .....		215
Annual Report of the Secretary .....		217
Annual Report, Managing Editor, <i>American Sociological Review</i> .....		219
Annual Report of the Treasurer .....		220
Auditor's Report .....		221
Budget Approved by the Executive Committee .....		224
Report of the Membership Committee .....		225
Report of the Committee on Social Research .....		225
Report of the Representative to the American Prison Association .....		226
Report of the Representative to the American Council of Learned Societies .....		226
Report of the Representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science .....		227
Report of the Representative to the Social Science Research Council .....		228
Report of the Committee on Contributed Papers .....		230
Current Items		
News and Announcements .....		231

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW is published at 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, bi-monthly in February, April, June, August, October and December. Copyright 1947 by the American Sociological Society.

Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$6.00 per year. Subscription rates: non-members, \$4.00; libraries, \$3.00. Single issues, \$1.00. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States, Canada, and other countries in the Pan-American Union; other countries in the Postal Union, fifty cents.

Address all business communications to the Managing Editor, AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, Ernest R. Mowrer, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Changes of address must be requested at least one month in advance.

Address all editorial communications to the Editor, 115 Haven Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. All unsolicited manuscripts must enclose return postage.

Address all matters pertaining to book reviews to the Book Editor, 115 Haven Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P. L. and E., authorized June 4, 1936.

# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

## OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1947

President, LOUIS WIRTH, University of Chicago

First Vice-President, E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, Howard University

Second Vice-President, ROBERT C. ANGELL, University of Michigan

Secretary-Treasurer, ERNEST R. MOWRER, Northwestern University

### COMMITTEES

#### EXECUTIVE

LOUIS WIRTH  
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER  
ROBERT C. ANGELL

#### Former Presidents

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG  
RUPERT B. VANCE  
KIMBALL YOUNG  
CARL C. TAYLOR

#### Elected at Large

ROBERT S. LYND  
LOUIS WIRTH  
CHARLES S. JOHNSON  
FLORIAN ZNANIECKI  
KATHARINE JOCHER  
SAMUEL A. STOFFER

#### Elected from Affiliated Societies

RAYMOND V. BOWERS  
ROBERT K. MERTON  
NOEL P. GIST  
LLOYD ALLEN COOK  
CALVIN F. SCHMID  
EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER  
HOWARD W. BEERS  
AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD

#### ADMINISTRATION

LOUIS WIRTH  
ERNEST R. MOWRER  
ROBERT C. ANGELL

#### Elected by the Executive Committee

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER  
KIMBALL YOUNG  
RUPERT B. VANCE

### BOOK REVIEWS

Merton: <i>Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive</i> . Walter B. Bodenhafer .....	234
Silberner: <i>The Problem of War in 19th Century Economic Thought</i> . Charles E. Lindblom .....	234
Feibleman: <i>The Theory of Human Culture</i> . Leslie A. White .....	235
Morgenthau: <i>Scientific Man vs. Power Politics</i> . Seba Eldridge .....	236
Mayer: <i>Max Weber and German Politics</i> . Arthur K. Davis .....	237
Friedman: <i>Foundations of the Measurement of Values</i> . Ernest J. Chave .....	237
Ayres: <i>The Divine Right of Capital</i> . Frank H. Knight .....	238
Everett: <i>Religion in Economics, A Study of John Bates Clark, Richard T. Ely, Simon N. Patten</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman .....	239
Hertzler: <i>Social Institutions</i> . Robert C. Angell .....	240
Murray: <i>Introductory Sociology</i> . Melvin Tumin .....	240
LaPiere: <i>Sociology</i> . Melvin Tumin .....	240
Ogburn and Nimkoff: <i>Sociology</i> . Melvin Tumin .....	240
Bryson: <i>Science and Freedom</i> . Frank E. Hartung .....	242
Smith, Lasswell and Casey: <i>Propaganda, Communication and Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Reference Guide</i> . Alfred McClung Lee .....	243
Garrison: <i>The Psychology of Adolescence</i> . Howard Y. McClusky ..	244
Lewis: <i>Children of the Cumberland</i> . Howard Y. McClusky .....	244
Lind: <i>Hawaii's Japanese</i> . John F. Embree .....	245
Benedict: <i>The Chrysanthemum and the Sword</i> . John F. Embree ..	245
Covarrubias: <i>Mexico South: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec</i> . Norman S. Hayner .....	246
Adams: <i>American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Progress</i> . Read Bain .....	247
Aptheker: <i>The Negro People in America</i> . Frank E. Hartung .....	248
Strode: <i>Social Insight Through Short Stories</i> . Richard T. LaPiere ..	248
Roucek: <i>20th Century Political Thought</i> . Seba Eldridge .....	248
Cohen: <i>The Faith of a Liberal</i> . Arthur E. Wood .....	249
Hedley: <i>The Christian Heritage in America</i> . Edward W. Blakeman ..	250
<i>Social Adjustment in Old Age, A Research Planning Report</i> . Stuart A. Queen .....	251
Lauerman: <i>Catholic Education for Social Work</i> . Eleanor Craneheld ..	252
Sowers and Mullen: <i>Understanding Marriage and the Family</i> . Charles Hoffer .....	252
Burgess and Locke: <i>The Family</i> . Clifford Kirkpatrick .....	253
Mills: <i>When You Marry</i> . Mirra Komarovsky .....	254
Koos: <i>Families in Trouble</i> . Stuart A. Queen .....	255
Carmichael: <i>Manual of Child Psychology</i> . Martha Colby .....	256
Chen: <i>Population in Modern China</i> . Amos H. Hawley .....	257
Janowsky: <i>Nationalities and National Minorities</i> . Peter Lejins ..	258
Miñano-García: <i>Some Educational Problems in Peru</i> . Richard F. Behrendt .....	258
Pearse and Crocker: <i>The Peckham Experiment</i> . Gordon W. Blackwell ..	259
<i>Interviewing for NORC</i> . Charles F. Cannell .....	260
Rockwood and Ford: <i>Youth, Marriage and Parenthood</i> . L. J. Locke ..	260
McCloy: <i>Government Assistance in 18th-Century France</i> . Wilson Gee .....	261
Boaz: <i>Race and Democratic Society</i> . Brewton Berry .....	262
OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED .....	263

# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

April  
1947

Volume 12  
Number 2

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society



## HOUSING AS A FIELD OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH\*

LOUIS WIRTH

**T**HAT HOUSING is an important practical problem needs no argument. If practical problems are to be dealt with intelligently they obviously require the foundation of sound knowledge. The knowledge required to deal intelligently with housing includes not merely what all of the social sciences have to give but also the technical knowledge which architecture, engineering, art, law, administration, business and other professions can offer.

Housing is a social activity. As such, sociology has something to learn from it and it constitutes a subject matter for sociological study. Sociology also presumably has some knowledge to bring to housing problems. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate what this two-fold interest of sociology in housing is as a giver and a receiver of knowledge.

Sociology is clearly not the only discipline bearing upon housing, and, conversely, what housers can legitimately ask of sociologists will only give them a partial answer to their problems. What, then, are the principal aspects of housing to which sociological research might address itself, keeping in mind that there are many other disciplines and practical arts and professions which have other problems and which seek other answers in the field of housing?

The answer to this question must, it seems to me, be sought in the light of one's conception of the nature and province of sociology. This discipline is concerned with what is true of man by virtue of the fact that he leads a group life. What sociologists must discover about housing, therefore, is all those aspects which are factors in and products of man's involvement in social life. At first glance this may seem to be virtually everything, for the politics and economics of housing, as well as art, architecture and law, business, financing and administration, designing and planning, are also factors in and products of social relations. Upon further reflection, however, the sociological study of housing would turn out to have a fairly delimitable scope or, at least, distinctive emphasis. There are three clearly significant sociological aspects of housing I propose to discuss briefly: (1) Housing as a social value, (2) Housing in relation to the community, (3) Housing and Social Policy.

### HOUSING AS A VALUE

In housing, as in the study of other social phenomena, it may be well to start with the central question of the social values involved. Hence, I would propose that the sociological study of housing begin with housing as a social value. Everyone in our society is concerned with the realization of this value, and the quest for the achievement of this value by each affects the similar quest by all the others.

\* Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-30, 1946.

Considering the fundamental importance of the question of values, it is rather shocking to find how little we know about the various ways in which housing as a social value has been defined by different civilizations and by different groups in society. The content of this value ranges all the way from the quest for basic shelter to the striving to achieve residential accommodations with varying degrees of luxury, various amenities of life, status-giving qualities and other characteristics, such as the location of the home, the materials out of which it is to be built, the style of architecture, the nature of the furnishings and equipment, the nature of the community in which it is located and the characteristics of one's neighbors.

Surely we cannot proceed far in the analysis of housing as a social problem until we know more than we now do about the nature and the extent to which people's desires and expectations in respect to housing are realized or frustrated. After all, social problems arise only where there is some deviation from a norm or some conflict of values, or maladjustment in the effort to achieve these values, which affects a greater or lesser number in society adversely. We experience no feeling of frustration if there is no ambition of which we become aware and in the satisfaction of which we find ourselves blocked. The mere deviation from accepted norms or the frustrations of our desires, however, do not constitute a social problem unless at the same time there is a recognition that the ends sought are achievable and the means for achieving them exist or can be brought into being.

One of the ways in which we can approach the subject of housing, therefore, is to attempt to discover the specific content of the value it constitutes for different individuals and groups in our society. This can obviously not be judged merely by the kind of housing that people have, for the kind of housing they have is clearly restricted by other factors than merely their ambitions and desires or the pictures they carry around in their heads of the housing they would like to have, or the kind of housing that is pos-

sible in our present state of technological advancement. Fruitful housing research, therefore, might be devoted to the discovery of the housing ambitions of people and the manner in which and the degree to which these ambitions are frustrated among different economic and social groups in our society.

It will be immediately apparent, however, to the sociological student of housing that housing as a value does not stand by itself. It has a place in the hierarchy of values, and this place differs in different cultures and in different strata of society. One way in which we may estimate the place of housing as a value in the scheme of values is to ask what other values people are willing to sacrifice in order to achieve housing of a certain quality. European observers of American life have often been struck by the fact that many families in the low income groups in the United States are apparently willing to make a good many sacrifices in order to have an automobile, but relatively few to have a decent house. On the other hand, we have seen from the studies of immigrant groups that some, such as the Poles, will be willing to forego many other items in their standard of living to acquire real property. The popularity of building and loan associations among immigrant groups is perhaps merely another indication of the extent to which a house constitutes a value fairly high up in the scheme of values, and saving for such a house becomes an important family objective.

In this connection it is important not to mistake the actual state of affairs for the underlying attitudes of people. Just because people live in the slums does not mean that they wish to live in them or that they hold housing in low esteem as a value. It may simply be that they are not able to help themselves, and if better housing were offered at a price they could meet, or if other items in their family budget were less demanding, housing would rise to a more important place.

As part of the estimation of housing as a value in American civilization, special attention should be devoted to home ownership. On this subject fairly reliable quantita-



tive data are available. The difference in the degree of home ownership in rural and urban communities, in cities of different sizes and types, and among various income groups, racial and economic groups, has been fairly completely ascertained. It should be noted, however, to what an extent the actual facts deviate from the highly advertised ideal that every American family should own its home and what the factors are that account for this deviation.

It is clear enough that home ownership has much to do with the place of property and housing in the value scheme of different groups. But it should also be recognized that the desire for home ownership and the quest for security in life may be mutually incompatible. Historically, we have been a highly mobile people, as contrasted with most of the peoples of Europe. It is well, therefore, to ask, in the case of home ownership, to what extent it is a value which conflicts with economic security in general and particularly with the ability to take advantage of job opportunities as they may arise in other parts of the city or in other cities. The experience of industries in providing housing for their employees on a paternalistic basis is instructive in this connection. With instability in industry and employment, home ownership may actually become a handicap. The degree to which this is recognized by the population in general may become an important factor in understanding the trends as well as the differentiations in home ownership between different groups.

The mere nominal ownership of a home does not, of course, imply actual ownership. Often it may be, especially in the low income groups and in periods when the housing demand is very great, as it is at present, that families may make a down payment on a home without actually being able to acquire full ownership. In that case their home ownership consists merely in the privilege of occupying the home as long as they can meet the mortgage and interest payments and the taxes.

With the trend toward multiple family structures, especially in metropolitan communities, it becomes physically impossible

for most families to own their homes, even if they wanted to, unless, of course, they were willing to associate themselves in some sort of cooperative housing enterprise. An analysis of the factors conducive to cooperative housing would constitute a special problem under the general head of research on housing as a value. There are, of course, a good many other aspects of sociological interest connected with housing cooperatives, such as the degree of homogeneity or heterogeneity of the cooperators, the influences that bring them together, and the elements contributing to the continuity of the arrangement and the success or failure of the enterprise.

Another feature of the analysis of housing as a value centers around the question of housing standards. It has been remarked that a civilization can be judged, at least to some extent, by the minimum housing conditions which a society will tolerate for its members. In the perspective of history, it should be observed that men have lived in shelters of various kinds. They have lived in caves and in mansions. The medieval castles were probably not as habitable as a modern slum home. Modern technology has made possible the continuous improvement in housing standards. We have become acquainted with the inter-connections between standards of housing and standards of health and well-being. More and more these standards have acquired social sanction, and because of the recognition of their relationship to health and safety have been incorporated in laws and ordinances. The extent to which these laws and ordinances keep pace with increased knowledge of the relations between housing and other aspects of social life and with progress in technology is in itself a subject of considerable sociological interest. It has been found that standards once accepted tend to develop around themselves vested interests, such as the organized building trades and material manufacturers, and that as a result instead of furthering housing progress they have become obstacles to such progress. This lag would be a particularly appropriate subject for sociologists to investigate.



In recent years a good deal of attention has been devoted by sociologists to the study of the internal arrangement and the equipment of houses. Social status scales have even been developed on the basis of physical facilities in the house. This, however, is merely one small aspect of the very much larger problem of the analysis of housing as a value. This justifies the search for the kind of housing design which would be compatible with the changing expectations and needs of members of the family. Thus, for instance, it would be important to inquire to what extent privacy for the individual members of the family is a value that people seek to realize. Similarly, it would be interesting to discover what adjustments people make in their housing in various stages of the family cycle, such as the kind of housing requirements that they have when the family is young, as over against when the children grow up and seek housing of their own. The relationship between size of family and size of housing units has become a problem of great practical importance in view of the declining size of the family and in view of the now accepted cultural pattern that only the immediate family should occupy the dwelling as over against the previously accepted cultural pattern in which the extended family is the unit to which housing must be adapted. It has been said, for instance, that the absence of a spare bedroom is the best defense against a host of invading relatives. The popularity of the kitchenette apartment, and of two- and three-room units as over against the larger dwellings attests to the changing structure of the urban family.

#### HOUSING AND THE COMMUNITY

The involvement of housing with community life is clearly a subject of long standing sociological interest. This connection between housing and community life arises out of the fact that at least in the urban community the house does not stand by itself but is part of a neighborhood, a local community and the metropolis. No individual house can be completely insulated against influences of neighbors or the trends prevail-

ing in the community. Moreover, as more and more of the functions of family living become centered in community institutions, the nature of the functioning of and the accessibility to these institutions and facilities becomes important. The degree to which people—individuals and families—find opportunities for participation in formal and informal organizations operating in the community is perhaps as good a test as any of the adequacy of housing. Thus, for instance, a house, even from the standpoint of the property values involved, is judged by the community in which it is located and the people who inhabit that community, by the schools, playgrounds, parks, community centers and public utilities to which the inhabitants have access, and by the incidence of social problems, such as delinquency and crime and community disorganization.

In modern civilization, place of work and place of residence have become progressively divorced. Nevertheless, convenience of access to place of work and shopping center, as well as to other facilities serving the routines of modern living, continue to be matters affecting the desirability or undesirability of a house.

The social status and the standard of living, the racial and ethnic composition of their neighborhoods are issues to which people in our society are sensitive. Only in the slum, where the inhabitants consist of those who cannot afford to live or are not tolerated anywhere else, are the resistances to invasion by lower income and status groups reduced to a minimum.

In view of these facts, sociological research in housing might well be concerned to a much greater degree than it has been with the structure of communities and their relationship to the general pattern of the city; the analysis of different types of communities; the tracing of the process blight; the phenomena of invasion and succession of different population groups in specific areas of the city; the factors underlying the flight from the city and the emergence of suburban communities and, in turn, the fate of these suburban communities as the cor-

rosive influences extend outward from the central city; the attitudes underlying the resistance to the invasion of strange racial and ethnic groups, the methods used to block this invasion and the alternative methods that might be use for building sound communities in which people of various economic strata and racial and ethnic characteristics can live together amicably; the relation of community institutions to housing and the relationship of place of work to place of residence and the role of transportation in the general pattern of living.

These are problems with which in the past the human ecologist, the demographer, the student of community organization and the city planner have been primarily concerned. A more definite focussing of sociological interest upon these issues would be of immense scientific as well as practical significance.

As in the case of the analysis of housing as a complex of values, so in the study of the relationship of housing to the community the question of values cannot be left out of consideration. To know what is good housing involves also knowing what is a good community. This implies that in the analysis of communities, too, a basic prerequisite is an understanding of the wishes and expectations of people and of the possibilities of realizing them under the available or expected state of knowledge, social and economic organization, and technological resources. In the light of such knowledge it is possible to formulate minimum standards for communities and for the individual house. Indeed, at least in the urban community, it is futile to attempt to set up minimum standards for housing without at the same time considering standards for communities.

#### HOUSING AND SOCIAL POLICY

A third major aspect of the housing problem to which sociologists might well address their research is that of the formation of public policy. There may have been a time when individuals or families could solve their housing problems mainly on the basis of their own resources and their own

decisions. This is becoming less and less true. Even in the case of rural housing, where individualism still has an important place, the meeting of the housing needs and expectations of people is increasingly conditioned by factors over which the individual or the household has little control. The general trend of agriculture, soil conservation programs, credit policy, the relationship to roads, to schools, to markets and to service centers, are becoming increasingly important. In the urban community, the social matrix in which individuals or families solve their housing problems—even in unplanned communities—is increasingly complicated and inescapable.

To begin with, sociologists perhaps more immediately than others might recognize the fact that we do not have a housing industry as we have an automobile industry, and that an individual cannot enter the housing market quite in the same manner as he enters the market for other commodities as a producer or consumer, as a buyer or a seller. A variety of specialized interests and specialized skills is involved in housing activities, over which the individual has little or no control. The housing industry, if we can speak of it as an industry at all, is loosely organized, and the sociologist might profitably address himself to the nature and functioning of this organization.

Moreover, housing is beset at many angles with a public interest which expresses itself in a complex set of public regulations, such as building codes, zoning ordinances, safety and sanitary regulations, to mention only some formal ones, besides the informal regulations set by fashions and neighborhood and community pressures. Besides, the provision of housing involves a variety of more or less organized and articulate interest groups: the real estate fraternity, the mortgage bankers, the architects, the city planner, the materials manufacturers, the building trades laborers, the public officials, the more or less organized property owners, taxpayers, tenants, and a great many more. These interest groups develop into pressure groups whenever public decisions are to be made. What happens in the case of each

issue depends in large measure upon the power relationships between the pressure groups and their influence upon such bodies as Congress, State Legislatures and City Councils.

This is particularly apparent in the case of the struggle that goes on in connection with public housing and the determination of the scope of public responsibility for housing, especially of the low income groups, for whom private housing enterprise has not been able to make adequate provisions. Whether or not and to what extent public responsibility exists for achieving a minimum housing standard for all of our people depends again upon the acceptance of certain social values, and hence, here too the problem of values is central. It is around the recognition of certain of these values that housing movements organize themselves, and if the housing movement in various countries in the Western world, including the United States, has gained its peculiar character through the emphasis upon public responsibility, it is due to the fact that, like other social movements of a reform or revolutionary nature, it has set itself the goal of achieving certain social objectives toward which there either exists a public apathy or against which there operates the organized resistance of special interest groups. We shall not achieve an adequate solution of the housing problem, nor shall we make satisfactory progress toward that goal, without a better understanding of the collective behavior of these various groups within the housing movement. Sociologists have both much to learn and to contribute in this connection.

#### HOUSING AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

The problem of housing illustrates the nature of social problems in general, and from its analysis students of social life can learn a great deal concerning the role of norms, the complexity of the factors and the method of analysis of social problems in general. They can learn, too, something about the division of labor between the various social sciences and the arts and technical and professional specialties that enter into a concrete social issue.

In emphasizing three aspects of the housing problem, as I have done above, I do not mean to imply that there are not many other aspects of housing from which sociologists might learn and to which they might contribute understanding. I have selected these three merely because in the miscellaneous approaches to the housing problem that have been in evidence, these are three factors that seem to me to have been particularly neglected. It would, of course, be possible to formulate the sociological interests in housing in a more or less systematic manner, corresponding to the basic branches of sociological knowledge, starting with human ecology and demography, running through social organization, and ending with the social psychological aspects of the subject matter. All of these aspects are, of course, represented in the problem complexes that I have emphasized. It would, for instance, be perfectly appropriate for a sociologist to delve deeply into specific problems connected with housing, such as the relation of housing to family life or the relation of housing to delinquency, family disorganization, community disorganization, and other deviant forms of behavior, or to single out the grossly neglected problem of the housing of the unattached persons in our society, or of the problems represented by the attitudes involved in the acceptance of second, third, and even tenth-hand housing as a respectable form of behavior in a society which frowns upon the wearing of secondhand clothes or the acceptance of other handed down personal commodities.

As sociologists we have the skills and the insights, the systematic framework and the background by virtue of our scientific training to view the problem in the perspective of a systematic science. What I wish to emphasize, however, is that in the case of housing we confront, as sociologists, a genuine problem of social concern which should challenge us to mobilize our knowledge and to perfect our methods of analysis. We will not make a contribution of value to society if we merely mechanically apply the conventional concepts of our discipline to the problem. I suggest we look at the problem and then see what we have in existing knowledge and

methods of approach that appear relevant to gaining a better understanding of it, noting to what extent our knowledge and methods are inadequate, and perfect the

knowledge and methods so as to make them more adequate. In the long run this might make us more useful in the world and at the same time give us a more realistic science.

## NEW METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON HOUSING PROBLEMS\*

F. STUART CHAPIN

*University of Minnesota*

THIS PAPER is limited to a discussion of method. Results of using method will be cited only as they illustrate the validity of method or some unsolved problems of method.

Two methods of observing the sociological aspects of housing will be considered: (1) observational study using the questionnaire method and sociometric scales to obtain quantitative records of observation; and (2) observational study under conditions of control by use of a projected experimental design and by use of an ex post facto experimental design.

### OBSERVATIONAL STUDY

Svend Riemer is one of the pioneers of observational study of the sociological aspects of housing. I shall refer here merely to his most recent published study, "Maladjustment to the Family Home" in the *American Sociological Review* of October, 1945.<sup>1</sup> In this study, 900 questionnaires were distributed through the PTA of Seattle in the fall of 1941 to a random sample of their membership. Three hundred questionnaires were returned and supplied information on 134 items. Riemer does not tell us how representative these 300 returns were of the sample of 900 families. But his breakdown analysis supplies some interesting information about the frequency of complaints. These complaints are examined from two

frames of reference: (1) complaints about eight family functions, such as how housing interfered with meals, hygiene, sleeping, housework, child care, leisure, social life, and location; and (2) complaints about housing as it interfered with the convenient use of five types of rooms, dining-room, bedroom, kitchen, bath-room, and living-room. These two classes of complaints are each broken down by degrees of crowding, family size, market value of home, age of home (presumably age of structure), income, status (by occupational group), and age of housewife. The importance of this study lies in its realism, concreteness and in the use of percentages of specific complaints to all possible complaints.

The most recent scale to measure the quality of urban housing is *The Appraisal Method* of the Committee on Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association.<sup>2</sup> This scale concisely describes and evaluates each dwelling unit, its occupancy and its environment, and discriminates by magnitude of weights between degrees of housing quality. Allan A. Twichell, technical secretary of the Committee, states, "The object is to measure housing needs of a city in such fashion as to serve policy-making purposes of all agencies concerned with housing and planning; and, by providing information of wide value to stimulate a joint attack on fundamental housing problems. The procedures are intended primarily for use in selected areas known to

\* Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-30, 1946.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 10, No. 5, pp. 642-648. See also Charlotte Kilbourn and Margaret Lantis, "Elements of Tenant Instability in a War Housing Project," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, February, 1946, pp. 51-66.

<sup>2</sup> *An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing: A Yardstick for Health Officers, Housing Officials and Planners*, Part I. Nature and Uses of the Method, American Public Health Association, 1945, pp. 71.



contain poor or mediocre housing, not for city-wide application. In obvious non-problem areas, classification by other methods may be quite accurate enough."<sup>3</sup> It is published in a manual of procedure, in which, besides the schedule and scoring methods, there are also described the field operations of selection and training of personnel for visitation and recording of observations, selection of the sample to be canvassed by visitation and direct observation, processing the schedules to punch cards for quick analysis and tabulation. The method is designed primarily for health officers who are confronted with the need of objective evidence for practical use in legal condemnation proceedings, the demarkation on maps of blighted areas or slum areas, comparison of these between different cities of a State Health Board's jurisdiction, demarkation of areas for slum clearance and re-housing, different rent classes, race and nationality groupings of a city population, etc. It should be evident from the enumeration of these items that *The Appraisal Method* has much interest and utility for research sociologists as a new tool of objective description and observation.

Sociometric scales for use in rural housing studies have been constructed and published by Cottam<sup>4</sup> and by Mosier,<sup>5</sup> and are cited here to round out the list of new tools of observation.

#### OBSERVATION UNDER CONDITIONS OF CONTROL

Besides the quantification of description of the subject studied, another objective of scientific method is to observe under conditions of control. In sociological research one is always impressed by the method of experiment used in physical science to observe under conditions of control. Recently there has developed in sociological study a method of experimental design which is an attempt

to observe human relations under conditions of control. The remainder of this discussion will be devoted to a description of two types of experimental design used in controlled observational studies of housing. First, the projected experimental design, in which an attempt is made to observe the effects of public housing programs over an interval of time by use of sociometric scales. This is the familiar "before and after" design. Second, to describe what I have called the *ex post facto* experimental design.<sup>6</sup> In this latter type, a present effect which is recorded in accessible statistics of rates or other measurements, is traced back in the records to some assumed causal factor or complex of factors at a prior date. In both types of experimental design examples of accessible and published results will now be critically examined.

A projected experimental design study was made from 1939 to 1940 on a group of low income families resident in Sumner Field Homes of Minneapolis (a public housing project) as an experimental group, and compared with a group of similar families residing in the slum as a control group.<sup>7</sup> The two groups were matched on ten factors by equating frequency distributions. These matching factors were: race or culture class of husband, race or culture class of wife, employment of husband, employment of wife, occupational class of husband, occupational class of wife, number of persons in the family, income of family, age of wife, and years of formal education of wife. This was done to avoid the influence of these factors on the observed changes in general adjustment 1939 to 1940, and to narrow down the observations to changes that might be more closely associated with differences in housing.

Four measurements of general adjustment

<sup>3</sup> Mimeographed outline of an address, July, 1940, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota.

<sup>4</sup> *Housing and Attitudes Toward Housing in Rural Pennsylvania*, by Howard R. Cottam, The Pennsylvania State College, School of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, State College, Pennsylvania, 1942.

<sup>5</sup> *Evaluating Rural Housing*, by Charles I. Mosier, University of Florida Press, Gainesville, Florida.

<sup>6</sup> My first use of the concept "*ex post facto* experimental design" appeared on page 29 of *Research Memorandum on Social Work in the Depression*, by F. Stuart Chapin and Stuart A. Queen, Bull. 39, Social Science Research Council, 1937.

<sup>7</sup> "An Experiment on the Social Effects of Good Housing," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 5, No. 6, December, 1940, pp. 868-879.



were used: the morale and general adjustment scales of Sletto<sup>8</sup> and the social participation and social status scales of Chapin.<sup>9</sup> Early in 1939 all housewives were measured on these scales, and again in 1940 for a similar period. Comparing the differences in means of these measurements for 1939 and for 1940, it was found that both the experimental group and the control group gained during the year, but that only on the social participation and the social status scales was the gain in magnitude of mean score statistically significant. Since the details of these measurements and changes in mean values were fully discussed in the original publication, I shall omit the repetition of this material and turn my attention to some fundamental problems of method not discussed in the original report of this study.

An adequately formulated working hypothesis is an important aspect of experimental design studies. Ordinarily research begins with a question, which in this case was, "Does residence in a public housing project improve the adjustment of former slum families?" This question may be stated as a positive working hypothesis: residence in a public housing project improves the adjustment of former slum families. But here the methodological problem is to define the verb "improve" in terms that will be acceptable. How can improvement be verified? Is it possible to bring a value like improvement to the test of facts?

One method used to answer this question is to re-formulate the hypothesis in terms susceptible to test by facts. This may be accomplished by use of the so-called null hypothesis which makes an assertion of fact rather than, as in the case of the positively worded hypothesis, expresses a value judgment. In the case of the housing study we may set up three null hypotheses as follows:

1. There are no changes in social participation, condition of the living room, and in percentage use-crowded, if differences in composition of the experimental group and the control group are held constant in respect

to ten matching factors (enumerated above).

Since differences were found between measurements on the stated factors between the initial and terminal date of the experimental period of controlled observation, this null hypothesis is proven false by the test of facts. We now turn to the second null hypothesis.

2. The observed changes in social participation, condition of the living room, and percentage use-crowded, are not greater than those that could occur between two groups selected at random as samples from the same population.

Since it was found that the average critical ratio of the changes on the three measures was 3.47 for the experimental group, and was 1.81 for the control group, and the multiple critical ratio of the experimental group was 4.87, and of the control group was 2.92, this null hypothesis is proven false by the test of relevant facts. We are not concerned for the moment with the disparity between the condition of random sampling of probability theory and the non-random selection of the experimental and control groups, a point which will be discussed later. We now turn to the third null hypothesis.

3. The observed differences between changes in social participation, condition of the living room and percentage use-crowded, are not greater than those that could occur frequently between two samples selected at random from the same population.

Since the average critical ratio of the differences between changes on the three measures was found to be 2.87, or just under 3, and the multiple critical ratio of the differences between the changes on the three measures was 4.97, this null hypothesis is also proven false by the test of facts.

The net conclusion is that since all three null hypotheses are false because inconsistent with the relevant facts, we may infer that the changes in adjustment measured by these scales were a result of differences in housing plus an unknown number of unknown factors. Evidently we have proven nothing about the effect of housing per se, but we have assembled in systematic form evidence that supports the initial positive hy-

<sup>8</sup> *Personality in the Depression*, 1936, University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>9</sup> University of Minnesota Press, 1933 and 1937.

pothesis and encourages further research, and this is all that could be expected, since an hypothesis is only a provisional formulation. This observation leads to the further assertion that the most acceptable criterion of whether or not a cause and effect relationship has been discovered is to repeat the experiment to find out whether successive experiments confirm the first finding. No physical scientist rests his proof of causality on one experiment. Similarly in using experimental designs in sociological research we require replication to establish any strong probability that a cause and effect relationship has been discovered.

But what about the unknown factors just referred to? Apart from confirmation by repetition of experimental design study, a word needs to be said on this subject. In designs for experiment in biological science, control of unknown factors is obtained by randomization. Unfortunately this recourse is denied the research student of human relations. Practical considerations inherent in the mores effectively prevent randomization. For example, could you expect to measure the effects of a social program which was applied to one randomly selected group (the experimental group), meanwhile denying the program to another randomly selected group (the control group)? The mores decree that the criterion for receiving a program of social treatment shall be need. Eligibility for relief, for public housing, and for other programs, is determined by need, and not by random selection to equalize unknown influences. The criterion of greater need effectively eliminates the device of randomization as a method to obtain control of unknowns. Hence all that can be done in this situation is to insist upon two methods: (1) control by matching on as many known factors as can be measured; and (2) repeat the experiment.

But the methodological problems of a verifiable formulation of an hypothesis and the control of unknown factors in the situation, by no means terminate the list of methodological difficulties to be overcome. Since I have elsewhere discussed these problems in

detail,<sup>10</sup> I shall merely list them here and refer you to the earlier discussion. These problems are: (1) the longer the field interview the fewer the cases that can be canvassed; (2) the longer the period of the experiment the greater the likelihood of intrusions of outside influences which change the conditions; (3) the longer the interval of the experiment the greater the loss of cases due to mobility and refusals; (4) losses of cases are more frequent in the control group than in the experimental group; (5) the larger the number of matching factors the greater the number of cases dropped; and (6) cases lost are likely to be cases with extreme measurements, thus decreasing differences and reducing the magnitude of significant differences.

Let us now turn to the second type of experimental design, that which I have called the *ex post facto* experimental design. This type of design was described in detail in the Christiansen experiment<sup>11</sup> and was fully discussed by Greenwood, so that I shall here describe a more recent study of this sort, and one in which some new variations in technique were introduced. During the academic year 1945-1946, a group of graduate students in my seminar made a study of the relationship between the tuberculosis death rate and rentals in health areas of New York City for 1940. The purpose was to discover if high tuberculosis death rates in 1940 had antecedent factors in 1930 which were associated with different rates of change in tuberculosis death rates from 1930 to 1940. The first step was to put the New York City health areas in array on tuberculosis death rates for 1940. The next step was to select the upper quartile of high tuberculosis rate areas, to be called the experimental group, for comparison with the lower quartile of tuberculosis rate areas, as a control group.

<sup>10</sup> "Some Problems in Field Interviews when Using the Control Group Technique in Studies in the Community," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1, February, 1943, pp. 63-68.

<sup>11</sup> "A Study of Social Adjustment using the Technique of Analysis by Selective Control," *Social Forces*, Vol. 18, No. 4, May, 1940, pp. 476-487.

Since the percentage foreign born<sup>12</sup> and the percentage colored are known to be correlated with the tuberculosis death rate, these two factors were held constant by matching. This gave us an experimental group of 41 health areas with high tuberculosis rates, and a control group of 41 health areas with low tuberculosis rates, for 1940 in each case. These groups were then traced back to conditions in 1930 to discover whether an assumed causal complex of housing factors could be identified. In this type of design we are strictly limited by the facts recorded, since no new measures (using sociometric scales) can be made now to measure past events. Therefore the only recorded data available, which might be taken as an assumed causal complex were in the record of median rentals for these health areas. Now it is a fact of previous research that rentals are correlated with such housing factors as crowding, single family dwellings, etc. and with tuberculosis death rates. Consequently we accepted rentals as a rough index of housing factors antecedent to the 1940 tuberculosis death rates. Proceeding in this manner we found that high rentals in 1930 preceded a statistically significant decline (4.6) in tuberculosis death rates from 1930 to 1940 in the 41 health areas of the low-rate control group, and that low rentals in 1930, preceded a non-significant decline (1.90) in tuberculosis death rates from 1930 to 1940 in the 41 health areas of the high-rate experimental group. The tentative conclusion is that economic factors of housing as expressed by rentals are related as an antecedent condition to changes in the tuberculosis death rate in these areas. The relationship thus discovered suggests but does not prove a causal connection. The net result of this study is that it supplies evidence to justify repetition of this experimental design in further studies of similar data. In short, it encourages us to seek further test, either confirmation or disproof by replica-

<sup>12</sup> The percentage native white only was available; but since this is the complement of the percentage foreign born, it could be used in this connection.

tion. One such study does not prove any generalization; it may only encourage or discourage further study.<sup>13</sup>

One other positive result of this study is to suggest that the use of the ex post facto experimental design in the analysis of data by census tract areas may reveal evidence of social cause and effect relationships between other variables recorded by census tracts. Since many American cities have been subjected to census tract records for a decade or more, this opens up a promising field for fundamental research.

Let us now turn to some of the limitations of this method: (1) it is hampered in application by the kind and accuracy of recorded data; (2) since the existing records on small areas do not supply information on many social factors, a large number of unknowns are present; (3) it does not eliminate the influence of selective factors as an explanation of the relationship that is found; and (4) it does not deal with the same individuals over a period, but has to rely on averages of individuals in small areas. This last limitation was not present in the initial study by ex post facto experimental design as done by Christiansen.<sup>14</sup> The mere enumeration of these limitations indicates the points at which the method may be strengthened in the future by the establishment now of more adequate records for use in subsequent studies of this type.

This ex post facto experimental design study of the relationship between tuberculosis death rates and rentals of a prior date included two innovations not present in my earlier studies of this type which Greenwood has so carefully analyzed in his *Experimental Sociology*.<sup>15</sup> These innovations are: (1) a norm or frame of reference<sup>15A</sup> was ob-

<sup>13</sup> A detailed discussion and description of this study will appear in my forthcoming book, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, Harpers, 1947.

<sup>14</sup> See footnote #11.

<sup>15</sup> Kings Crown Press, 1945.

<sup>15A</sup> A use of mathematical probability in these experimental designs rests on four considerations:

(1) Justification for the use of P-tests in the present crude stage of development of experimental

tained by selection of a stratified random sample from the health areas of 1940, to which the differences and changes in rates of both the non-random samples called the experimental group and the control group could be compared; and (2) partial correlation analysis of this stratified random sample showed conclusively that when the percentage colored was held constant, the correlation between rentals and tuberculosis rates increased from  $-.306$  to  $-.66$ . This latter procedure was again tried in another ex post facto design study of rentals and infant mortality rates for the same New York City data and validated thereby as a useful method to pre-test for factors to be held constant in this type of study. Since this investigation includes details too numerous to describe in the present brief paper, I shall refer you to my forthcoming book, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, to be published by Harpers in 1947, for a more adequate treatment of this study.

designs in sociological research is essentially pragmatic, as when the over-all results from the use of an experimental design are confirmed by replication despite the fact that the experimental and control groups are non-randomly selected. It is unfortunately still the fact that replication of experimental design studies in sociological research has yet to take place. Therefore this statement is a statement of expectation rather than a statement of fact.

(2) Use of the P-tests on non-random samples of the experimental group and the control group, "at least allows us to say that the observed differences are no greater than might occur with random samples" (McCormick, p. 256; footnote 19).

(3) Since the standard errors of simple samples are usually not very different from those of random samples, and in any case somewhat larger, simple sampling errors may be applied to stratified random samples with conservative results, because they allow a margin of safety by their over-estimation of error. (McCormick, p. 234).

(4) The principle which lies at the basis of P-tests when used in the present stage of experimental designs in sociological research is: the frequency distributions of the means of measures of the items in random samples tend to approach a normal probability distribution, whatever may be the distribution of frequencies of measures in the universe; and similarly for the differences between the means of random samples. Empirical evidence supporting this principle is widely accepted by statisticians. Moreover, the evidence also tends to approximate the theoretical model of the binomial expansion.

Before concluding this exposition of the ex post facto experimental design one other brief but significant example may be cited. In a study by Naomi Barer of juvenile delinquency and housing in New Haven,<sup>18</sup> the method of self-comparison before and after residence in a public housing project was used instead of the control group technique. It was found that the rate of juvenile delinquencies per 100 children per year in 317 families dropped from 3.18 for the seventeen year period 1924-1940, to 1.64 for the five year period 1940-1944 when the same families resided in the public housing project. This was a decline in juvenile delinquency rate that was three times its standard error, and therefore statistically significant. Extraneous community factors were allowed for by the finding that the juvenile delinquency rates in the surrounding city for the year 1940-1941 actually showed an increase of 9.1 per cent as compared with 1927-1940. This study is one of the most suggestive studies of juvenile delinquency and housing to appear recently, despite its limitations.

#### A NOTE ON THE CONCEPTS OF CAUSATION, PROBABILITY AND VERIFICATION AS USED IN EXPERIMENTAL DESIGNS

In conclusion some remarks may be made on the concepts which are fundamental to the use of the present experimental design methods.

Reference has already been made to the inability of one experimental design study to prove causality and consequently the necessity of replication to seek verification. What do we mean by the concepts causality and verification in the present context? By causation we mean an explanation of successive events by a set of assumed antecedent-consequent relationships for which the evidence is objective and recurrent. It will thus be seen that we imply no rigid determinism in the use of the concept of causality. By verification we mean the process or operations of showing that a propo-

<sup>18</sup> *The Journal of Housing*, December, 1945-January, 1946, based on a Master's Thesis of the Yale School of Medicine, *The Effect of Improved Housing on Health*, by Naomi Barer, 1945.



sition is true, its confirmation by finding or showing that the predictions made in the hypothesis agree with the facts. But verification has no finality, for as Ayer says, "... the propositions in which we record the observations that verify these hypotheses are themselves hypotheses which are subject to the test of further sense-experience ... each act of verification supplying us with a new hypothesis, which in turn leads to a further series of acts of verification. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

Now despite these empirical definitions of causality and verification, which rely on sense-perceptions of operations performed in research, there is the further problem of the validity of applying mathematical probability in experimental designs. Since McCormick<sup>18</sup> has recently discussed this problem in some detail, I shall here offer merely a few considerations.

In applications of mathematical probability in the present context three facts of procedure may be noted: (1) probability was not invoked in these studies to justify generalization from the non-random samples of the experimental and control groups to the universe from which they were chosen. No universal claim of this sort was made; (2) probability was used merely in testing the second and third null hypotheses, or in similar intermediate stages of study; (3) probability was used in this connection to test differences between, or changes in, means of groups, where it is applicable, since most statisticians accept the principle that the distribution of means of random samples tend to approximate the normal probability distribution; and (4) probability tests were

made on the experimental group and the control group, which in each case were non-random samples, hence when non-significant we may at least say the observed differences or changes are no greater than might occur with random samples.<sup>19</sup> Although adequate discussion of these matters is clearly beyond the scope of this brief paper, it is evident that in the use of experimental designs such considerations are not to be neglected. A more adequate discussion of these and relevant matters will appear in my forthcoming book, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, 1947. Short of this more adequate discussion the following considerations may be earmarked for further study: (1) evidence from the cited applications of experimental design is sufficient to encourage its further use in attempts to study social cause and effect relationships;<sup>20</sup> (2) the most acceptable kind of verification for an hypothesis which asserts a causal relationship is corroboration by repetition of the experimental design on like subjects under like conditions; (3) the use of mathematical probability to test the significance of differences between an experimental group and a control group at one date, or between measurements of each group on successive dates, should rely on the use of means in preference to other constants; and (4) mathematical probability can not be used at the present stage of development of the experimental design method to support the validity of generalizations from the experimental and control group comparison to the universe from which chosen; only by many repetitions can we hope to find an adequate basis for such generalizations.

<sup>17</sup> Alfred J. Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 131-132.

<sup>18</sup> "Note on the Validity of Mathematical Probability in Sociological Research," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, No. 5, October, 1945, pp. 626-637.

<sup>19</sup> McCormick, T. C., *Elementary Social Statistics*, McGraw-Hill, 1947, p. 256.

<sup>20</sup> For a more extended and philosophical discussion of causality, see Robert M. MacIvers' *Social Causation*, Ginn, 1942.



## CURRENT SOURCES OF SOCIOLOGICAL DATA IN HOUSING\*

HOWARD G. BRUNSMAN

*Bureau of the Census*

THERE is a serious question whether 1940 can now be considered as a current period and whether statistics obtained in the Housing Census of 1940 may be considered as current data in housing. Nevertheless, a statement of current data in housing would be incomplete without some reference to the statistics which were obtained in the 1940 housing census. These statistics have served as a benchmark for many of the more recent studies. The value of these recent studies has been greatly enhanced because of our ability to compare the results with the 1940 data.

A major portion of the recent data on housing has been obtained in sample surveys which relate to a selected urban center or to the United States as a whole. Almost without exception, the enumeration has followed what is termed the area sampling approach. With this approach the enumerator is supplied with a map on which selected areas are designated. He is required to enumerate all or a selected portion of the people living within these designated areas. The areas may be city blocks or rural areas of similar magnitude. In some of the more recent surveys the designated areas are segments of blocks which contain an average of six households. These segments are outlined on maps which show the general form, location, and type of each major structure in the area. The selected areas are designed to yield a representative sample of the city or metropolitan district as a whole. The 1940 housing statistics for blocks and enumeration districts have been useful to the samplers in stratifying areas and in obtaining representative samples. The samplers are able to indicate the relative accuracy of the results of this

type of enumeration in comparison with the results that might be obtained in a complete enumeration.

The area sampling approach is in contrast to the quota sampling method. Under the quota sampling method the enumerator is told to obtain a designated number of respondents with certain specified characteristics. For example, he might be told to obtain information from eight businessmen and five laborers. Since the respondents selected by the enumerator might not be fully representative of the selected class in the population, the quota sampling approach was found to be subject to bias. Furthermore, the area sampling approach yields an estimate of the total number of people of a designated type in the area, while the quota sample will not yield such estimates.

When the housing census was conducted in 1940 it was assumed that one of the major uses of the resulting statistics would be in the analysis of the need for housing in the various local areas. It was expected that the census results would indicate those areas in which a demand existed for private building and also those areas in which public housing might be needed. The whole emphasis of the housing problem was changed when the United States entered the war. Tremendous industrial expansion occurred in some local areas. Workers were needed to man the airplane factories and the munition plants. These workers could not be recruited from other areas unless moderately satisfactory housing was available but any resources used to build additional housing represented a drain on the total resources available to win the war. Therefore, it was necessary to determine the minimum supply of housing that would meet our most urgent needs and the localities where this housing was required. In order to determine this need, the poten-

\*Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-30, 1946.

tial increase in employment in the areas was compared with the available supply of unused housing in the area.

In order to determine the supply of unused housing, vacancy surveys were conducted at the request of the Housing Coordinator and later the Office of the Administrator of the National Housing Agency. The early surveys were made by the Division of Research and Statistics of the Work Project Administration and later by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of the Census. It was soon realized that a simple count of number of vacant units similar to that obtained in the Housing Census of 1940 was not adequate as a measure of available housing. It was necessary to determine how many of the vacant units were available for occupancy; which of them were habitable; and which contained basic essential facilities and equipment. Some of the surveys were extended to obtain the number of rooms and number of persons in each occupied unit. A tabulation of the relationship between rooms and persons showed how many of the occupied units in an area contained unused capacity. In total, more than 1,000 of these vacancy surveys were conducted in more than 300 areas.<sup>1</sup>

In October 1944 and again in November 1945 the Bureau of the Census conducted sample surveys which yielded statistics on the general housing conditions in the United States as a whole. These surveys were conducted in conjunction with the Monthly Report on the Labor Force, a national sample of approximately 25,000 households in 68

areas throughout the country.<sup>2</sup> The surveys indicated that, at least on a statistical basis, the general condition of housing had improved since 1940. This improvement occurred even though the number of homes built since 1940 had not kept pace with the housing demand. In the period April 1940 to November 1945 the number of occupied dwelling units with private bath increased by 4,800,000, while the number without such equipment declined by 2,000,000. Similar changes were shown in the number of units not needing major repairs and needing major repairs. The number of occupied units with central heating increased by 3,500,000 while those without declined by 800,000. Units with electric lighting increased by 5,800,000; those without declined by 3,000,000. At first glance, these changes in characteristics of housing seem quite astonishing. They can be explained, however, when it is recalled that most of the new homes built during the war contained the various facilities listed above, even though many of them were smaller and less attractive than the new homes built in the pre-war period. It must also be remembered that many of these new homes are in public war housing projects which are temporary and must be removed from the housing market after the emergency has passed. Much of the improvement in the existing homes occurred in the rural areas and especially in farm areas. Farmers were relatively prosperous throughout the war and relatively few restrictions were imposed on the improvement of farm housing.

The survey of November 1945 also reports nearly 3,000,000 unoccupied dwelling units in the United States. After we exclude the units that are not habitable, those that are sold or rented but not yet occupied, and those held off the market for other reasons,

<sup>1</sup> Surveys of this type which were conducted by the Bureau of the Census were published under the designation "HO" and "HV" Series. A summary release indicating the name of the areas surveyed was prepared for each of the years 1941 through 1944. The results of the surveys of this type which were conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics were published in a series of reports entitled "Survey of Vacancy and Occupancy in Publicly and Privately Owned Dwelling Units." Summaries for this series of reports were also prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Copies of the summaries and reports may be obtained on request from the Bureau of the Census, Washington 25, D.C., and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington 25, D.C.

<sup>2</sup> Results of these surveys are presented in the following releases which may be obtained from the Bureau of the Census: "Characteristics of Occupied Dwelling Units, for the United States: October 1944"; "Characteristics of Occupied Dwelling Units for the United States: November 1945"; and "Vacancy in Dwelling Units in the United States: 1945."

we have left only 800,000 habitable vacant units which are for sale or rent: this group represents 2.1 per cent of all dwelling units. Only 250,000 of these units were in urban areas and the surveys of the separate local areas showed vacancy rates substantially lower than 2 per cent in many of them.

A nationwide sample survey of population, labor force, consumer income, and housing is to be conducted by the Bureau of the Census in April 1947. Statistics for the urban and rural areas of the United States as a whole and for the northeast and northcentral states, and the south and the west will be obtained from a sample of 30,000 households in 148 areas. In addition, statistics on the same subjects, except consumer income, will be obtained for each of 30 or 35 large metropolitan districts through the enumeration of approximately 3,300 households in each area. Housing information to be obtained in this survey will include vacancy, occupancy and tenure, type of structure, number of rooms, monthly rent, and facilities and equipment of the home. Since the housing data are being obtained in conjunction with data on population and consumer income, it will be possible to relate the housing characteristics to the characteristics of the family occupying the home and to the income of the family. Veterans of World War II will be identified and the analysis will show the relative quality of homes of veteran and non-veteran families.

After V-J Day the need for housing statistics for local areas did not disappear but the nature of the need was radically changed. The World War II veterans returned to their home towns and experienced tremendous difficulties in finding suitable housing accommodations. The Veterans Emergency Housing Program was formulated early in 1946 and the National Housing Agency again called on the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of the Census to supply it with statistics on the housing characteristics of veterans, their housing needs, and their desires in the field of housing.

In June 1946 the Bureau of the Census conducted a nationwide survey of veterans' housing in conjunction with the Monthly

Report on the Labor Force. The survey provided information on the family characteristics and current income of veterans, their present living accommodations, the characteristics of their present housing, and their future housing plans.<sup>3</sup> One-fourth of the married veterans were living doubled up, that is, in dwelling units that contained a married couple not including the head of the household. Five percent of them were living in rented rooms or trailers. Each veteran was asked what he would do about his housing if homes were available at the price and quality that he desired. The survey showed that 34 percent of all veterans would move into a different home within the next year under these specified conditions; 18 percent would buy or build a new house; 6 percent would buy an existing house; and 10 percent of all veterans would rent a different dwelling unit. These figures relate to what the veterans would do if housing were available at the price, size, and quality which the veterans desired. The picture was somewhat different when the veteran was asked what he would do if he were able to obtain a house only at present prices, size, and quality. Under present conditions only 7 percent planned to buy or build a new house within the next year (instead of 18 percent); 3 percent expected to buy an existing house (instead of 6 percent); and 9 percent planned to rent a different dwelling unit.

The veterans who planned to buy or build a new home had a median weekly income of slightly less than \$50 and \$5,500 was the median price which they reported that they were able to pay for a home. The veterans who planned to move and rent, if desired housing were available, had a median income of \$44 a week and the median rent they were able to pay was \$43.

In addition to the national survey, veterans' housing surveys were conducted during 1946 in more than 100 different localities

<sup>3</sup> Results of this survey are presented in statistics bulletin No. 7, "A National Survey of Veterans' Housing Plans and Present Accommodations as of June 1946," and may be obtained on request from the Construction and Housing Division of the National Housing Agency, Washington 25, D.C.

with separate reports prepared for each locality. These local surveys were conducted by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.<sup>4</sup>

The veterans' housing surveys represent an attempt to obtain statistics on an extremely elusive subject—that of housing demand. There would appear to be very little demand for housing if most of the available housing is priced beyond the veteran's means and we ask him if he expects to buy a house in the immediate future. On the other hand, there would appear to be a tremendous demand if we ask each veteran if he would like a neat little vine-covered cottage at a pre-war price. The questions on housing plans were phrased in a form to imply reasonable availability of housing but still avoid the wishful thinking.

Veteran's families are not the only ones which need and require housing. The Bureau of the Census has conducted three experimental surveys designed to measure the postwar demand for housing in a local area. These surveys were made in cooperation with the National Housing Agency and local groups. The first two surveys, conducted in Dayton, Ohio and Mobile, Alabama were intended to show how many of the families in Dayton and Mobile at the wartime peak expected to remain there after the war had ended and what they wanted in the way of housing.<sup>5</sup> The third survey, that of Decatur, Illinois, was inter led to reveal the postwar demand for housing by veteran and non-veteran families. The results of the Decatur survey show how many of the families are now doubled up, the characteristics of the homes that the families occupy, and the size,

rent, condition, and facilities of these homes. The survey also covers the future housing plans of the various families, what they would like to do about their housing, whether they would like to buy, build, or rent a house, and the price of the homes they hope to acquire. The results of this survey should be published within the next few months by the National Housing Agency. Surveys of this type should be helpful in determining the future needs of a community.

One of the major controversies in the housing field centers around the question of whether housing conditions of low-income families are improved by the construction of high-priced homes. Some people claim that the high-income families move into the new high-priced homes and that a family of somewhat lower income moves into the unit which is vacated. After several shifts of this type a family at the lowest income level is supplied with improved housing. There are other housing experts who claim that this filtration process does not operate and that the only effective means of improving the housing conditions of veterans and families with limited income is by building new homes that are within their range. The National Housing Agency has cooperated with the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics in conducting several experimental studies to determine what actually happens in this chain of housing shifts. In each of a number of areas a sample was selected from among the new dwelling units that were completed in the recent past. Enumerators visited each of these units and obtained information concerning the characteristics of the unit and of the family occupying the unit; the size, composition, and income of the family. Information was also obtained on the type of living quarters which the family left and the address of these former quarters; whether the family was required to pay more for the new unit than for their previous quarters; and if so, whether the increase was justified by better quality of housing. The field representative then visited these former quarters of the family and determined the characteristics of the family occupying them and the char-

<sup>4</sup> Results of these surveys are presented in separate reports for each area. Reports by the Bureau of the Census may be obtained from it and are designated as the "HVet" series; those by the Bureau of Labor Statistics are published in a series of reports entitled "Survey of Housing of World War II Veterans and Dwelling Unit Occupancy and Vacancy."

<sup>5</sup> Reports presenting the results of these surveys may be obtained from the National Housing Agency. They are entitled "Survey of Consumer Demand in the Dayton Area" and "Summary of Surveys of Consumer Demand for Postwar Housing in the Mobile Area."



acteristics and address of the quarters which they had vacated. The chain of enumeration continued until the enumerator encountered a family that lived doubled up with another family in its former quarters or lived outside the survey area. These surveys will indicate how many families obtain better housing for each new house which is constructed and the relationship of the income of each of these families to the value of the new house.

The idea of obtaining the combined rating of the quality of a dwelling unit appeals to many people. With such ratings for the units in an area, it is possible to determine the best and worst blocks of an area. It must be realized, however, that such a rating may oversimplify the problem. It assumes that the relative quality of a number of units is properly indicated by their ratings. This is not always the case. One unit may be better than another from the point of view of healthfulness, but may not be as good from the point of view of livability. A unit which is more desirable than another for a family containing no children may be less desirable for a family with minor children. Nevertheless, a number of groups have studied this problem of establishing a composite rating of housing. The best available rating system is that which has been developed by the Committee on Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association. In applying the technique which this committee has developed, a field representative obtains a considerable amount of information for each of the structures and dwelling units included in a survey. Some of the information relates to the physical equipment and facilities of the structure and of the dwelling unit. It is determined whether the unit has a bath, water supply, electric lighting, and central heating; also, whether the unit contains any rooms of substandard area or rooms lacking installed heaters, windows, or closets. The condition of the dwelling unit is based on a consideration of deterioration, infestation, and sanitary conditions—items which are usually subject to a wide range of subjective judgment. In order to reduce this subjective judgment, a system of scoring has been established. The field representative is re-

quired to score the degree of deterioration of the outside stairs and outside walls of the structure, the walls and ceilings, floors, and windows of the dwelling unit. On most of these items he is required to establish a separate rating for "hole or surface worn" and for "surface broken or loose." Extremely detailed instructions are presented on the condition of each of these elements which requires a rating of deterioration of degree 1 or degree 2.

Information also is obtained on the occupancy of the unit, in particular on room crowding, area crowding, and on doubling. In addition to the unit and structure itself, information is also obtained on the environment of the structure with special reference to nonresidential land uses, adequacy of utilities, sanitation, and basic community facilities, hazards, nuisances from transportation systems, and from natural causes, such as surface flooding, swamps or topographical features. A penalty score is assigned to each deficiency and all of the information is converted into a combined penalty score for the dwelling unit and its environs and for the housing in total. The average penalty score is computed for all units in each block of the area which is being studied.<sup>6</sup> The technique has been applied in studies conducted in seven cities, including New Haven, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. In all of these cities the survey has been conducted in selected areas which contain a considerable amount of substandard housing. The results of the surveys have been most useful in formulating the housing plans of the city.

In 1945 the Federal Public Housing Authority made a survey of the livability problems of 1,000 families. The purpose of the survey was to determine the reaction of occupants of units in public housing projects to the various features of construction and design. The families were asked their opinion

<sup>6</sup>The method used in these surveys is outlined in the publication "An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing" which may be obtained from the American Public Health Association, New Haven, Connecticut.



of the desirability of having enclosed backyards, backdoors to the dwelling units, porches, and also their opinion of the suitability of the size and arrangement of the various rooms of the unit, the windows, electric lighting equipment, closets, kitchens, and various other features of the unit.<sup>7</sup>

The results of the survey indicate that most of the occupants own equipment of various types which requires much more storage space than is provided in the units and that the occupants would prefer to have some type of dining area in the kitchen, especially in those units where the dining room is combined with the living room. The survey is of greatest importance as an example of an approach to the problem of housing design.

In summary, considerable advances have been made in recent years in our fund of knowledge of housing and of the sociological

aspects of housing, but we have made even greater advances in our method of increasing our knowledge. These advances include:

1. We have made tremendous strides in the use of samples to obtain statistics. We have learned how to select a sample in a manner which will avoid biases in the results, and we are able to compute the reliability of the results of our sample surveys.

2. We are learning how to obtain accurate information regarding attitudes, opinions, and future plans. Most of the advances along these lines have been outside the field of housing, but further applications in housing are bound to occur.

3. Since we are now able to obtain accurate statistics on a wider range of subjects at reasonable cost, greater use is being made of the statistical approach in obtaining the answers to the various problems that arise. In the not too distant past there would have been few persons and no government agencies that would have been equipped and willing to undertake most of the studies which I have just described.

<sup>7</sup> This report is entitled "The Livability Problems of 1,000 Families," and may be obtained on request from the Federal Public Housing Authority, Washington 25, D.C.

## SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE IN HOME PLANNING\*

SVEND RIEMER

*University of Wisconsin*

IN MODERN home planning, the architect finds himself confronted with contradictory demands. On the one hand, he is challenged to provide for more privacy in the family home. In city apartments, he has to break down the available floor-space of the dwelling unit into the largest possible number of minute cubicles. In the one-family-house, an increasing number of specialized rooms is required, such as the study, the library, the guest room, the workshop and the recreation or "rumpus" room of the 1930's. There is need for partitions, for nooks and corners and double-purpose rooms which—temporarily at least can be assigned to specialized activities.

Yet, on the other hand, we are well acquainted with prevailing trends in home construction which emphasize large living rooms and an easy flow of communications between kitchen, dining room and all other units located on the main floor. Kitchen and living room may be separated by counters rather than full partitions. There may be wide arches rather than doors. Where parlor, living room and dining room were, previously, clearly set off against each other, we are now provided with one large contiguous living room space that is interested by folding partitions only, or other divisions which serve temporary needs for a semblance of privacy.

The inventiveness of the architect, thus, seems to be challenged by cross-purposes. No wonder that the new ideas about "func-

\* Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-30, 1946.

tional" architecture in our magazines and architectural journals appear rather chaotic and whimsical to the casual observer. They can be fitted into a meaningful program of design only if they are understood in their relationship to contemporary changes in the family institution.

Unfortunately, the problem of family housing has been neglected by all but a few sociologists.<sup>1</sup> The family residences that will shoot up during the post-war era will not reflect the guidance of research concerned with the effects of home design and neighborhood planning upon the American family. We stand ready, to be sure, to assist the architect and the engineer in their endeavor to find out what types of homes people are willing to buy or rent. Questionnaire techniques and sampling devices will enable us to make fairly reliable statements about preferences. There is, as a matter of fact, a slowly rising interest in this type of assistance on the part of public authorities as well as private builders.<sup>2</sup>

As sociologists, however, we cannot be satisfied with such fragmentary market analysis. We are not interested in immediate sale or rental of the family residence, but in its usefulness during the entire amortization period. The dimension of social change enters into our perspective. We know that the immediate market situation reflects the past rather than the future of attitudes toward the family home.

The home life pattern of the modern family is subject to progressive change due to increasing specialization of everyday life activities, particularly as far as the use of leisure time is concerned.<sup>3</sup> The direct effect

is an unprecedented demand for privacy within the sheltered space that harbors a large percentage of our waking hours.<sup>4</sup> Yet, this demand for privacy can be accommodated in different ways. We observe, on the one hand, a frantic endeavor to arrange for *privacy and special purpose rooms inside the family residence*, while on the other hand, such specialized activities are eliminated from the individual dwelling unit and transferred to community facilities. These may be provided for by the public or on the basis of the associational life of the community.

We are, then, confronted with a definite alternative. To deal with the problem adequately, we have to broaden our viewpoint to encompass not only the family residence proper but, in addition, those facilities of the neighborhood or the wider community which are necessary, today, to receive the overflow of our actively buzzing private lives.

At present, both trends toward the accommodation of specialized family needs can be observed simultaneously. The upper income and status groups are able to meet the increasing demands for the separation of diversified activities inside the family residence by separate living room areas for the older and the younger generation,<sup>5</sup> and by floor plans that provide for separate study, children's play room and workshop. The middle and lower income groups, on the other hand, are going through a critical period of transition. In their small homes, they are made increasingly dependent upon the use of community facilities. Where these are not available, family functions are suffering. Overlapping activities are causing family friction. Specialized leisure time activities are abandoned for the easy road to passive, commercial entertainment.

The situation is indeed even more complicated than so far indicated. In certain types of housing and community life, the transfer of specialized home activities or their abandonment has already gone so far

<sup>1</sup> Such as James Ford and F. Stuart Chapin.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. "The Livability problems of 1,000 Families." Federal Public Housing Authority. National Housing Agency. Bulletin No. 28. October, 1945.

<sup>3</sup> This report is based upon several limited investigations with primarily exploratory purpose. Cp. the following contributions: "Family Life as the Basis for Home Planning." *Housing for Health*. The Science Press Printing Company. Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1941.—"Livability—A New Factor in Home Value." *The Appraisal Journal* April 1946.—"Maladjustment to the Family Home." *American Sociological Review*. October 1945.—"Farm Housing Behavior." *Rural Sociology*. June 1945.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Alexander Block: *Estimating Housing Needs*. The Architectural Press: London, 1946. Particularly: *The Value of Privacy*. Pp. 95-99.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Svend Riemer: *The Case for the Second Living Room*. *American Home*. September 1944.

that the attention of the home-designing architect has been diverted from the need for privacy inside the family residence. Instead of forcing partitions and creating nooks and corners that will separate mutually interfering activities, his efforts are concentrated upon the accommodation of the core of remaining activities which are of a predominantly informal nature, inviting social gatherings rather than individual isolation. Thus, at the tail end of the general trend toward specialization, the home becomes again a *center for informal* rest and relaxation. It is unencumbered by the purposeful drive which favors concentrated studies or specialized hobbies or social gatherings of different age groups as part of our urbanized way of life. The remaining core of home activities is apt to resume a model of home adjustment that resembles closely—but must not be mistaken for—the home life pattern prior to the heyday of extreme individualization.

No wonder that we find it extremely difficult to relate our observations in the field of contemporary family housing to a simple, one-directional continuum. To create order out of chaos, we have to venture into an interpretation and a meaningful arrangement of the tremendous variety of coexisting patterns of home adjustment. A superficial similarity makes it particularly difficult to discriminate between the sociological significance of the dining room table around which the family members were gathered in earlier days occupied with different activities and, on the other hand, the modern kitchen-living room combination which provides a general "lounge" for the family, i.e. a place where the family congregates, albeit for short stopovers in the evening only or for relaxed chatter rather than purposeful activities.

The bewildering conflicts between the need for specialization and the need for spacious arrangements or an easy-flowing routine is apparent today with regard to each of the major functions of family life. While the architects are groping for solutions of home design which permit a maximum of privacy in the home for the younger generation

(such as play space for the pre-school child or study and separate living room for the adolescent), these provisions become increasingly superfluous by facilities offered beyond the confines of the family home. The nursery school provides sufficient opportunities for unrestricted self-expression. Clubs and libraries and the ice cream parlor attract the social activities of the adolescent.

Housing economics as well as problems of industrial organization are, naturally, of strategic importance in the support of the housing industry on a craftsmans basis is apt to tip the scale in favor of the transfer of family functions to community facilities.<sup>6</sup> Sheltered space is not factory produced and, therefore, relatively expensive. Home equipment, on the other hand, is available at relatively low cost. We get more utility value out of a dollar spent on equipment than a dollar spent on shelter. Consequently, families are fitted into relatively small and compact homes that are made tolerable as living quarters by the installment of increasingly elaborate equipment.<sup>7</sup> It is as yet an open question, whether the factory production of homes or of parts needed for home construction will reverse this trend in favor of larger family residences, or whether economy in this field will be absorbed by reductions of the housing item in the family budget.

The conflicting ideas of modern architecture reflect amazingly well certain emotional cross-currents in the family home itself. We advance in our recognition of special requirements for different age groups, and parents become aware of their children's need for a world of their own. This very understanding, however, promotes a much closer identification between parents and their children while they are being increasingly separated in time and space.

We observe new habit formations in the family home life. While claims upon the

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Clarence A. Perry: *Housing for the Machine Age*. Russell Sage Foundation. New York, 1939.

<sup>7</sup> About the possible social effects of prefabrication, cp. Svend Riemer: *The Family Home Prefabricated. Marriage and Family Living*. February, 1945.

child as an all-day participant in the family group are abandoned, the emotional ties seem to be only the more close-knit during the limited periods of direct interaction. Children attending nursery school find themselves, when at home, in almost perpetual contact with their mothers. School children refuse to withdraw from the family circle to do their home work. They develop considerable resistance against the radio, against informal conversations and even the distractions of social get-togethers. They refrain from withdrawing to their bedroom-study combinations where more adequate privacy could be obtained. The separation of family members in secondary-group pursuits is apparently counterbalanced by the desire to congregate and to preserve, in the home, a place where an informal flow of contacts eases the rigid discipline of specialized occupational and specialized leisure time activities.

It is of importance to the sociologist of the family to assess housing conditions with regard to their influence upon the cohesion of family life. His attention is called to the decrease of actual contacts between family members. The only occasion left for regular get-togethers of the family group is dinner time, not any more the evening hours. Breakfast is most frequently taken in relay to avoid bathroom crowding and to comply with different school and working hours. Luncheon is frequently taken outside the family home. Sundays may possibly find the family united at a breakfast-luncheon combination (brunch), but the events of the day, again, tend to pull the individual members of the family in different directions.

But the numerical extent of direct interaction between family members in the home cannot be looked upon as an expression of "familism" i.e. a condition in which "the interests of the family as a group is paramount to the interests of its individual members."<sup>8</sup> Diminishing contacts are not necessarily associated with family disorganiza-

tion. On the contrary, it is the isolated family group with a minimum of outside contacts which, in our days, appears maladjusted to the demands of the community both as a group and in its individual members. Nor is there any guarantee that the sacrifice of community contacts will enhance the adjustment of different family members to each other. Such isolated families, on the contrary, are subject to tensions from the outside which impair the cohesion of the family group by protest and revolt of individual members. Where the isolated family group remains intact, our attention will be called to the undesirable effects of excessive intra-family contacts expressed in symptoms of individual and family stagnation, i.e. the withdrawal from community participation and active citizenship.

The concept of "familism," to be sure, is not predicated by definition upon the frequency of intra-family contacts. A superficial understanding of the process of individualization, however, invites such interpretations. They abound in our literature, predicting the loss of family cohesion as a consequence of diminishing contacts as measured by simple frequencies and the amount of time spent together. The study of actual family behavior in the home challenges us to consider a careful redefinition of the term "familism." We have to make it clear that we are not concerned with physical congestion in time and space, but with the reintegration of diversified individual activities on a less tangible basis of loyalties, mutual aid in emergency and close identification with the happiness and the careers—however individualized in themselves—of the different members of the family group. Perhaps, we shall learn to apply a wider frame of reference to the evaluation of desirable or undesirable family trends. It may prove advisable not to consider the family as an end in itself but to assess its contributions to the life of the community.

The task of home planning, to be sure, should be guided by knowledge and understanding of contemporary family trends. Direct responses of prospective tenants or home owners to a check-list of "features,"

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke: *The Family*. American Book Company. New York, 1945. Similar formulations on pp. 64 and 69.



"gadgets" or alternatives in basic design do not tell us very much about the housing needs of the future. While a statement of preferences may clarify the immediate market situation, it does not furnish any clues for long term planning policies. But the home planner is committed to a long term view. Family residences are apt to serve their purpose for close to a half-century. The return on the original investment will have to be calculated on decades of useful service. There may even be reasons to override some contemporary tenant demands for the sake of community values which do not present themselves clearly to the individual family father.

To complicate the matter, home construction policies cannot be based upon straight predictions of preferences alone. It is impossible to isolate subjective attitudes toward the family home from the very effects

of contemporary and future building activities. In shaping our physical environment today we are influencing future attitudes and subjectively experienced needs. We are confronted—whether we like the task or not—with a problem of true planning and policy making.

If we provide well integrated neighborhoods in which the individual dwelling unit is supplemented by community facilities, the future citizen will be endowed with a different personality than if we focus attention upon the provision of specialized rooms within the family residence. Whatever we are going to do, whether we are going to plan carefully or not, whether we are going to base our decisions upon research or not, we cannot help but initiate a self-perpetuating chain of cause and effect relationships that will assist in determining the housing demands of the future.

## INTERACTION OF GENERATIONS AND FAMILY STABILITY\*

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

*Syracuse University*

THE FAMILY, a central mechanism for transmission of culture, must be able to transmit itself along with other culture traits, from one generation to another.<sup>1</sup> This it has effectively done, throughout history and prehistory, by means of traditional forms and processes familiar to the student of sociology. A family system that works satisfactorily is easily passed along through successive generations by means of slow, informal, and unwitting apprenticeship. Among the conditions favoring the process are, early marriage and long overlapping of generations, concentrations of primary relations within the family, and homogeneity of the society. These condi-

tions are observable in any preliterate or folk society, and in many parts of modern civilization.

There is also to be found, within particular families, something of a distinct and recognized tradition, and an explicit desire to have it perpetuated. Though not universal, this desire for continuity is widespread. It appears not only in royal families—even domestic servants and tradesmen in some modern cultures are proud of being the representatives of a line of reputable workers, or merely of being the bearers of a good family name.

In a family having a strong and dominant tradition, major decisions may be taken with reference more to the continuity interest than to the happiness of the persons involved. In such a case a family member does not merely have his own life to lead, but must also bear in mind that he is a trustee for past and future members of his family

\* Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December, 27-30, 1946.

<sup>1</sup> This formulation is based on a series of family histories collected by the author, and also on research literature on the subject.

line. Sons are thus valued not only as persons, but also as instruments of perpetuation of the tradition and as bearers of the heirlooms. The family possessions, tangible and intangible, may be at the same time burdensome responsibilities and valuable resources.

In addition to thrones, estates, and fortunes, there are intangible forms of capital, transmitted in family lines, which function to aid in the success of descendants and to bind a dynasty together. In the occupation of agriculture, for example, the transmission to sons of career knowledge is as important as the gift of lands, buildings, and stock. Except where agricultural colleges have recently spread their influence, there has been little other convenient way of acquiring the large and complex body of necessary knowledge and skill than the long, slow apprenticeship within the farm family. The farmer's son is given capital in the form of a fund of folk knowledge which is the refinement of a continuous tradition of rural technology preserved from prehistoric times. A similar statement could be made concerning nearly all but the most recent of techniques by which men earn their livelihoods. Before the modern period of trade schools, carpenters, plumbers, masons, printers, and many other skilled workers, were produced by the same sort of continuity of folk knowledge, in most cases through the agency of the family.

Besides these direct professional techniques, there are required in many occupations considerable amounts of supporting knowledge and skill concerning the proper ways to behave, methods of dealing with colleagues and clients, and the most favorable roles to maintain in the community. A drug-gist, for example, benefits from a comprehension of the values of the neighborly touch as well as the appearance of discretion. An undertaker must know the fine points of dignity which enable him to press upon his clients expensive goods and services while maintaining an air of unconcern with profit. A jeweler must acquire sensitivity to style, an atmosphere of class, and a stock of good will. Such unwritten wisdom often makes the difference between struggle and prosperity, and its acquisition constitutes the posses-

sion of family capital. Any person who enters such a profession without the aid of family apprenticeship is at a disadvantage in competition with second or third generation practitioners.<sup>2</sup>

Certain pursuits call for a large amount of such subtle folk knowledge. Physicians, for example, may sometimes succeed solely by virtue of technical knowledge and skill, but this happens only in exceptional cases. The conduct of a private practice must ordinarily be supported by a good public reputation, in which stability, sociability, and popularity are helpful. Membership in organizations, avoidance of unnecessary controversy, development of unobtrusive political skill, all may contribute to the physician's success.<sup>3</sup> Supporting knowledge of similar kind is useful in many other careers, including show business, military life, university teaching, preaching, and others.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The public became aware of this fact during the recent wartime experience with upgraded workers. Even at such low occupational levels as that of waitresses, the green qualities of the new workers were conspicuous.

<sup>3</sup> In an instance known to the writer, an able young physician, well-respected by his colleagues for his professional abilities, was having trouble in the early stages of his career when there fell into his hands a copy of *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, which so impressed him that it virtually revolutionized his personality and perhaps even saved his career. It is exceptional, however, for persons to acquire from printed matter an adequate knowledge of human relations. Few suitors can find the key to success in romance from a book of rules, few mothers can train their infants well from an instruction book. Full acquaintance with the general nature of human beings is required in order that explicit rules be intelligently applied.

<sup>4</sup> A writer of one of the biographical "Profiles" in *The New Yorker* (September 21, 1946) has described in some detail the special skill of a young woman whose profession is that of a Salvation Army Captain. At the age of twenty-eight she carried the responsible assignment to a difficult section of New York City, where she worked under the special local difficulties to convert the metropolitan sinners. Though she is said to be well-schooled in the detailed "Orders and Regulations for the Officers of the Salvation Army," her superiority over her colleagues is attributed by the author partly to the fact that she is "third generation." It is not accidental that she planned to marry a man who is also "third generation" in the Salvation Army. Any children of such a union would naturally be ex-

It is not uncommon in fact for even a racial or national heritage to contain special knowledge of the half-secret tricks of certain trades, as in the case of the Greek-Americans with their understanding of the restaurant business, the Italians with their skill at gardening and truck farming, and the Irish with their knowledge of police and political work. There may also be cultural deficiency—it has been remarked by E. Franklin Frazier, for example, that the reason even urban Negroes have on the whole shown little commercial skill is that historically they have lacked the folk traditions and skills involved in buying and selling.<sup>6</sup>

Career knowledge is not the only form of intellectual capital that is of importance to family succession. A stable or progressing family line also requires a considerable amount of general folk wisdom regarding human relations. Some of this knowledge is transmitted in explicit form, by precept, proverb, and parable. The Chagga of East Africa, for example, though regarding women as "man's donkeys," inform one another that, "Since the days of our fathers it has been impressed upon us that a man's wife may not be struck. Men may strike each other, but no one is to lay hands upon a man's wife."<sup>7</sup> The lore and sacred writings of all peoples abounds in such traditional admonitions, and it is in like spirit that contemporary wedding ceremonies instruct brides to "love, honor, and obey (or cherish)" their husbands.

Even more important, however, is the inexplicit wisdom that is unobtrusively presented through examples, or as a by-product of daily intercourse. It is largely through familiarity with successful social relations in action, rather than through verbal precept, that young persons learn from their elders how to carry over the techniques into their own adult lives. Among the types of wisdom that are useful to those who would

maintain continuity in family life are: the ability to judge character so that a mate will be wisely chosen, recognizing at the same time the unreliability of one's own emotion and the superior objectivity of close friends and relatives;<sup>7</sup> recognition of the importance of the long view of gratifications rather than the policy of living by impulses of the moment; knowledge of the means of holding the interest and respect of the young, so that control and guidance may be effective; and knowledge of how to preserve harmony and teamwork within a social group. Since man has always faced such problems, primitive and folk judgment concerning them is in general not inferior to contemporary folk knowledge, and it is clearly superior to the "common sense" that is relied upon in families where continuity has been broken.

Ancient practical wisdom, like old customs, tends to become a part of the mores, and thus we may observe in rural sections today how much of this type of knowledge has become integrated with traditional morality. Here the meaning of hard work, frugality, and avoidance of debt is more than efficiency. In a Catskill village that may serve as an example—a place too remote for tourists—idleness meets with disapproval and physical laziness is intolerable. The standard rural practice of early rising is expected even of those whose duties do not require it, and guests on the farm who do not rouse at the sound of kitchen work and the smell of bacon and coffee, are routed out by intentional noise or even by direct summons.

Among modern, particularly urban, populations, it is generally recognized that there exists a serious, though still only partial, cultural discontinuity between generations. In some cases this is the result of personal failures—drunkenness, criminality, demoralization—on the part of parents, or the re-

pected to represent a most highly purified strain in the special culture of the organization.

<sup>6</sup> Lecture at Syracuse University in the winter of 1945.

<sup>7</sup> B. Guttman, *Das Recht der Dschagga*. Quoted in W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*, New York, 1937. Pp. 428-29.

<sup>7</sup> See D. N. Mitra, "A Hindu Marriage in Bengal," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII: 255-58, N 1946. The traditional Hindu belief is that during the plastic and emotional period of life persons do not have sound judgment, and that it is better to leave the choice of mates entirely in the hands of parents and relatives. Mitra states that many such arranged marriages turn out well.

sult of their conservative obsolescence or extreme radicalism, either of which may weaken or break the thread of tradition. But probably the largest amount of such discontinuity is that which results from the present transitional state of civilization. Immigration from abroad to this land, or migration from farm to city, involve such a change of culture that a gap between parents, who know the old culture, and children, who almost exclusively absorb the new, is all but inevitable. Such a gulf between generations also forms as a consequence of the speed of social change, which renders parental wisdom obsolete in the eyes of children. Because of such a break in continuity, folk knowledge—the intellectual and moral capital—fails to be transmitted, and thus the younger generation is left unprovided with the heritage that is of such importance in the maintaining of a successful family institution.

Life history materials reveal an almost unlimited variety of personal failures and difficulties that follow such disruption. The common element in them all is ignorance—so that persons so deprived can only rely on their unsophisticated judgment, or that of their associates, both often insufficient in modern life. In one illustrative instance, four sons in succession ran away from the small-town home, at the ages of finishing high-school, in order to escape the discipline of a tyrannical father. Each thereby lost an opportunity for higher education and entrance into the professional class, and entered a life in a nearby metropolis for which they were unprepared. They found employment only in low-paying blind-alley occupations, and also found it easy to become involved in minor scrapes which resulted in jail sentences. In another case a "progressive educator" deliberately deprived his daughter of traditional counsel in order to allow her to find her true self. She developed into an unstable, egocentric, and lonely person who fell violently in love with a series of unworthy men, made two unsuccessful marriages, and eventually abandoned all family responsibility and lived with a succession of race-track followers.

In a third example, the daughter of a widely-known intellectual leader felt so neglected and unloved by her self-centered and busy father, that she compensated by lavishing a pathological amount of solicitude on her own children, leading to their ruin through overprotection, to the loss of her husband's affection, and indirectly to her own hospitalization for mental depression and suicidal tendencies. These experiences are relatively extreme but not rare. Far more common, however, are the smaller errors that cause trouble without catastrophe. Their frequency is reflected in the various indications of dissatisfaction or partial failure in processes involved in family life—the popularity of "Advice to the Lovelorn" columns and of fortune-tellers, the signs of discontent in family life, and the rising divorce and desertion rates.

When the financial capital in a family is lost, the heirs may either accept their reduced status, or they may try to rebuild the estate, in competition of course with other ambitious persons who seek riches. Often this process of recovery may take as long as did the original building of the fortune. Similarly the heritage of folk knowledge of how to live with a fortune may take time to acquire. A professional fund-raising expert had something like this in mind when he observed a condition among the new-rich motion picture magnates of California. He stated, "Hollywood is a bad source for contributions. That's first-generation money; the people never had more than two pants to their name, and now that they've made the money themselves, the hard way, they want to hang on to it, or buy jewels."

The process of advancing in income and occupational levels, and in intellectual capital building, is slow and gradual for all but a few who try. It has been shown that most sons remain in the occupational levels of their fathers, and of those who do advance, the majority only climb a step higher.<sup>8</sup> A large part of such climbing as does occur

<sup>8</sup> See P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, 1927; F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders*, 1932; and P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community*, 1937.



must be attributed to new industrial and commercial employment opportunities provided by the contemporary transition from agricultural society to industrial civilization. In stable societies upward movement becomes less common—an ambitious young academic man in certain European nations may have to wait for a professorship until a predecessor retires or dies.

The occupational progress of a series of generations is neither automatic nor merely a matter of general upward striving, but tends to proceed along certain definite routes. The initial phase—the original impulse to rise above one's fellows—has observable causes. In many cases the source appears to lie in the general tradition of progress in this country, which has symbolized to many immigrants the hope of indefinite achievement. In others the motivation may be the memory of distinguished ancestry, or on the other hand it may arise as a compensation for a severe family disgrace. There are many families in which ambition appears to have a religious basis, particularly if the denomination emphasizes good works and self-improvement.

In a family of the Catskill village mentioned above, a progression over three generations, carrying the family from low-reward farming to the professional level, began in the early childhood of the members of the first generation. In school the grandmother of the present generation learned to enjoy books, absorbed all reading matter she could obtain, and built up a taste for literature. She married a farmer of similar inclination, and, while the poverty of their agricultural resources prevented their giving much of material value to their children, they were able and willing to make sacrifices to provide each of their five daughters with an education, even though this meant for a time an unpleasant city life, supported only by income from common labor. All five daughters were not only put through high school—exceptional for the people of their community—but were also given in their home an appreciation of literature and education, and an ambition to pass it on to descendants. Three of them entered the profession of teaching, another

that of nursing, and the fifth worked as a community educational leader, and wrote and published poetry as an avocation. Two of this generation married, and their children all took up such pursuits as teaching, journalism, engineering, and nursing. The members of the youngest generation recognize the connection between their occupational achievements and the early wishes of their grandparents, with whom they have had rich and affectionate contact. The continuity and harmony of generations in this family is shown in the remark of a girl to her grandmother, "When you talk to me, you are my own age."

The way from lower to higher occupational levels is somewhat simplified by certain channels of advancement. For example, a convenient way from agriculture to the professional class is by way of the ministry of certain rural Protestant churches, which can be achieved with little or nothing of financial resources. The farmer's son who hears a call to preach and becomes a minister is unlikely to be able to provide financial capital for his children, but by virtue of his way of life is able to instill in them a respect for education, and perhaps a certain ability to obtain scholarships and to profit by study, thereby making it possible for them to enter the profession of teaching. Data from *Who's Who* indicate that a considerable number of distinguished professors reached their places by such a route. Apparently their children are in most cases able to hold this level or even to advance further.

In the family histories examined for the present study, a number of such channels are suggested. A farmer in whose family ownership of land was a sacred imperative found it desirable to add to the family fields in order to keep his sons nearby and on the land, and thus almost unintentionally drifted into a real-estate business, which became a valuable family possession. Another farm family was pushed into progress by the expansion of a nearby city to his vicinity, forcing conversion to truck farming. His son entered the truck farming business in partnership with the father, but was in time hired as manager of a competing business.

With his ample salary he was then able to send his own son to college and thereby to present him with an opportunity to enter the professional class.

The channels leading out of the common labor class are similarly varied. In some cases the sons of common laborers find employment in businesses in which, by apprenticeship and years of careful living, enough knowledge and capital can be accumulated to enable them to enter the same business for themselves. In one such case a workman's son became an embalmer's apprentice and after some time opened an undertaking establishment of his own, eventually building it into the leading business of its type in town. In another instance a son learned the drugstore business as a clerk, studied pharmacy on the side, and eventually acquired his own store. A construction laborer's son became a bricklayer, and later a contractor, eventually earning enough to educate his sons for the professions.

Such gains in occupational level, along with the painfully acquired folk knowledge of how to live on the higher levels, are facilitated by family continuity. When extreme gulfs form between generations in certain families, the loss of such a heritage is a catastrophe from which recovery is usually

slow. In general it appears that family disorganization, or even partial disorganization, affects not only a couple and their children, but also imposes some handicap that may remain for several generations.

The contemporary family crises may be in large part a consequence of the transitional state of civilization, and therefore of temporary character. Rates of city growth and of population increase are expected soon to fall off, and possibilities have been foreseen of the emergence of a new equilibrium which will involve a new and stable form of family life.<sup>8</sup> But for those families in which the generations have been widely split apart, the loss of the heritage of knowledge may precede by some decades the replacement by the new. Thus a large part of the young generation of today appears destined to suffer from cultural malnutrition, some effects of which may remain beyond the present century.

<sup>8</sup> See E. W. Burgess, "The Family," in *American Society in Wartime*, W. F. Ogburn, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), and E. W. Burgess and H. Locke, *The Family* (New York: American Book Company, 1945). Also Margaret Park Redfield, "The American Family: Consensus and Freedom," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII, 3, (November, 1946), 175-83.

## THE FAMILY CYCLE\*

PAUL C. GLICK

Bureau of the Census

FROM its formation until its dissolution, a family passes through a series of stages that are subject to demographic analysis. Typically, a family comes into being when a couple is married. The family gains in size with the birth of each child. From the time when the last child is born

until the first child leaves home, the family remains stable in size. As the children leave home for employment or marriage, the size of the family shrinks gradually back to the original two persons. Eventually one and then the other of the parents die and the family cycle has come to an end.

During the life of the typical family, important changes occur not only in the composition but also in many other measurable characteristics of the group. The family is likely to move to one or more new locations in the process of adjusting to new housing requirements or of improving employment op-

\* Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-30, 1946. The writer wishes to thank Wilson H. Grabill for permission to use certain unpublished data which he had compiled on stages of the family cycle and to thank Elizabeth A. Larmon for assistance in preparing the tables and other statistical data.

portunities. A home may be purchased; the rental value of the living quarters may change. The probability of employment of the husband and of his wife will differ from one phase of the family cycle to another. Occupational shifts and corresponding variations in earnings are usually experienced during the lives of the average family's breadwinners.

In treating these subjects, this paper falls into three parts: first, a presentation of the ages at which American married couples usually reach the several stages of the family cycle; second, an analysis of changes in family composition during the life span of the average family; and third, a description of changes in residence and in economic characteristics of the typical family between

and published statistics on several characteristics of families during World War II and since the end of hostilities,<sup>1</sup> but these data are available in insufficient detail for our present purposes. Figures for this unsettled period would be less appropriate, even if available, than statistics for the more stable prewar period. Family behavior within another year or two from now is likely to resemble more closely that of families in 1940 than that of families in 1945. Accordingly, the main findings reported in this paper are based on tabulations of the decennial census returns of 1940 or on birth and death statistics for prewar years.

#### STAGES OF THE FAMILY CYCLE

*Marriage.*—Half of the men in this coun-

TABLE 1. MEDIAN AGE OF HUSBAND AND WIFE AT EACH STAGE OF THE FAMILY CYCLE, FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1940 AND 1890

[ Stage of the Family Cycle	Median Age of Husband		Median Age of Wife	
	1940	1890	1940	1890
A. First marriage.....	24.3	26.1	21.6	22.0
B. Birth of first child.....	25.3	27.1	22.6	23.0
C. Birth of last child.....	29.9	36.0	27.2	31.9
D. Marriage of first child.....	48.3	51.1	45.6	47.0
E. Marriage of last child.....	52.8	59.4	50.1	55.3
F. Death of husband or wife.....	63.6	57.4	60.9	53.3
G. { Death of husband, if last.....	69.7	66.4	—	—
{ Death of wife, if last.....	—	—	73.5	67.7

its establishment and its disestablishment.

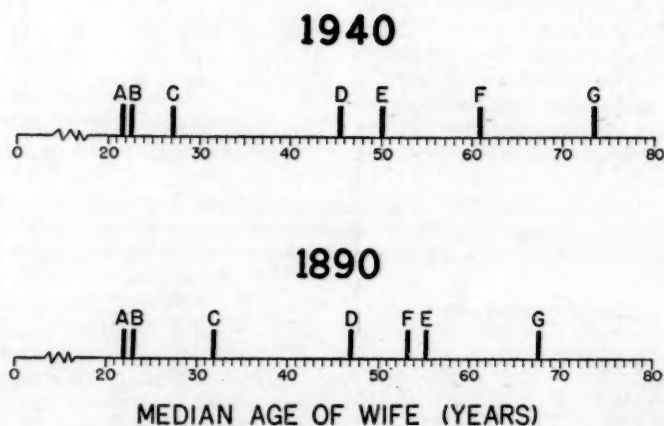
The analysis of family composition and characteristics will be limited, where possible, to families of the "husband and wife" type in which both members of a married couple are living together in their own private living quarters. About three-fourths of all households contain a family of this type. Groups not included in this analysis are married couples who are living with an established family, persons living alone, broken families, and households maintained by single (unmarried) persons. Likewise excluded are the residents of institutions, transient hotels, and of large lodging houses.

The Bureau of the Census has collected

try who marry for the first time do so before their 25th birthday and half of the women before their 22nd birthday, according to data from the 1940 Census. More specifically, as shown in Table 1, the median age at first marriage for men was 24.3 years

<sup>1</sup> "Families in the United States: May, 1944," Series P-S, No. 3, March 30, 1945; "Estimates of Number of Families in the United States: 1940 to 1960," Series P-46, No. 4, June 1, 1946; "Composition of Families in the United States at the End of the War in Europe: May, 1945," Series P-46, No. 8, September 6, 1946; "Characteristics of Families in the United States: February, 1946," Series P-S, No. 13, December 20, 1946; and "Marital Status of the Civilian Population and of Heads of Families: June, 1946," Series P-S, No. 16, February 10, 1947.

FIG.1-STAGES OF THE FAMILY CYCLE IN THE U.S.



CODE	STAGE
A....	MARRIAGE
B....	BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD
C....	BIRTH OF LAST CHILD
D....	MARRIAGE OF FIRST CHILD
E....	MARRIAGE OF LAST CHILD
F....	DEATH OF HUSBAND, IF FIRST
G....	DEATH OF WIFE, IF LAST



and for women, 21.6 years.<sup>2</sup> The average couple marrying 50 years ago was a little older than the average couple in current times. Results derived from the 1890 Census showed that the median age at first marriage was 26.1 years for men and 22.0 years for women at that time. Thus, the average married man of 1940 was his wife's senior by about three years, whereas his grandfather was likely to have been senior by four years.

Men on farms tend to marry at relatively older ages than those not on farms. The decline since 1890 of nearly two years in the median age of men at first marriage may be attributed in part, therefore, to the decline in the proportion of farm people in the United States. Another factor may be the more widespread knowledge today of means of family limitation. In the earlier period postponement of marriage was probably more often relied upon as a means of limiting family size.

It should be recognized, of course, that not all couples establish a separate home when they marry. In ordinary times, approximately one couple out of every five moves in with relatives or lives in rented rooms as lodgers for a while after marriage. The proportion of couples living in this manner declines sharply until middle age and reaches a low point of about 3 per cent for couples in their 50's.<sup>3</sup>

Over a considerable period of time there has been a growing tendency for married couples to make their homes with an established family. There is evidence in unpublished data from the Censuses of 1930 and 1910 that smaller proportions of couples at these earlier dates than in 1940 were failing to maintain their own households. A survey made in June, 1946, showed an increase of only 9 per cent since 1940 in the number

of private households as compared with an increase of 40 per cent in the number of couples living doubled up in private households.<sup>4</sup> The latter increase developed, no doubt, as a consequence of the lack of housing facilities to accommodate the great numbers marrying during, or since the end of, the war.

*Child bearing.*—Following marriage, about a year elapses before the average mother bears a child. This interval has not varied greatly since 1917, when the Bureau of the Census first published national figures on children by order of birth.<sup>5</sup> The median age of mothers bearing their first child in 1940 was 22.6 years. In 1890 it probably was about 23.0 years. Between 1940 and 1942 it remained practically unchanged in spite of a rather large increase in the proportion of first births among all births.

For women who had married and had reached the end of their reproductive period (45 to 49 years old) by 1940, the average number of children born per woman was approximately 3.1.<sup>6</sup> Statistics on children by order of birth indicate that these 3.1 children were born about two years apart, hence a period of only about four and one-half years elapsed between the birth of the

<sup>4</sup> "Marital Status of the Civilian Population and of Heads of Families: June, 1946," cited above. For a statistical description of married couples and parent-child groups who do not maintain separate homes, see "Characteristics of Secondary Families in the United States: February, 1946," Bureau of the Census, Series P-S, No. 15, February 5, 1947.

<sup>5</sup> *Vital Statistics of the United States*, Government Printing Office, Washington, reports for 1917 to 1944. For selected, highly fertile groups the interval may be less than one year, on the average. See the article by Harold T. Christensen, "The Time-Interval between Marriage of Parents and the Birth of their First Child in Utah County, Utah," *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 44, No. 4, pages 518 to 525, January, 1939. An intensive analysis of child spacing on a national basis awaits the compilation of detailed data on women of completed fertility by date of marriage and by date of birth of each child. Information of this type was recently collected in Great Britain.

<sup>6</sup> See Table 3 of the 1940 Census Bureau report, *Differential Fertility, 1940 and 1910—Fertility for States and Large Cities*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson H. Grabill, "Age at First Marriage," Bureau of the Census, Series P-45, No. 7, May 28, 1945.

<sup>3</sup> Based on a comparison of the number of married women with husband present in the household and the number of such women who were wives of heads of households in 1940. See Tables 9 and 11 in Part 1, Volume IV, of the 1940 Census Bureau reports on population, *Characteristics by Age*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943.

first and the last child, as a rule. The typical mother had, therefore, borne her final child at the (median) age of 27.2 years.

Because families were so large two generations ago, the average woman at that time had twice as long an interval between the birth of her first and last child as does the woman of today. She had borne 5.4 children<sup>7</sup> with an estimated interval of 9 years between the first and the last. Not until the age of about 32 years had she given birth to the last child.

At this point it is appropriate to mention in passing, at least, those women who have never borne any children. Among women who had married and completed their period of fertility (45 to 49 years old) by 1940, 15.4 per cent had had no children. For 1890 the corresponding figure was only half as large, 7.9 per cent.

*Children leaving home.*—From the time the last child is born until the first child leaves home, the size of the family usually remains stable. Probably a majority of children depart from the parental home for a new permanent place of residence within less than a year from the time they marry.<sup>8</sup>

Let us assume as a reasonable approximation, therefore, that the average (ever-married) woman of completed fertility (45 to 49 years old) in 1940 had had three children who grew to maturity, married, and left home at the same age that their parents married. The decline in the number of children living at home would accordingly have taken place when the mother was between the ages of 45 and 50 years. By way of comparison, the average woman of her grandmother's era would have been 47 to 55 years old, if she had lived as long as that, when her five surviving children were leaving home.

*Dissolution of the family.*—This brings us to the final stage of the family cycle,

when first one then the other of the parents is expected to die. For the average couple who married in 1940, the chances are 50-50 that, under mortality rates observed at that time, they will survive jointly for about 39 years.<sup>9</sup> At the end of that period the wife would be 61 years old and the husband 64. They would have lived together for 11 years since the last of their three children married. By comparison, the typical couple of two generations ago could have expected to survive together for only 31 years after marriage, that is, until the wife would have attained age 53 and the husband 57. This is two years short of the time when their fifth child would have been expected to marry.

Thus, the decline in size of family and the improved survival prospects of the population since 1890 not only have assured the average parents of our day that they will live to see their children married but also have made it probable that they will have one-fourth of their married life still to come when their last child leaves the parental home. This represents a remarkable change since 1890. It is one of the most dramatic, and at the same time one of the most significant changes from the viewpoint of the life experiences of the parents, of all changes in the family cycle in the last 50 years. It has a multitude of social and economic implications.

The wife would ordinarily be expected to survive longer than her husband, partly because she is usually younger and partly because mortality rates are more favorable for women than for men, age for age. In the

<sup>7</sup> Survival rates for the general population were used. Married persons, particularly married men, have slightly better chances of survival than other persons, but they represent such a large majority of all persons between 25 and 65 years of age that the survival factors for married persons, if available, would probably differ very little from those for the general population. Life tables for persons by marital status would create some difficulties of interpretation because marital status, unlike sex or race, changes at least once during the life time of almost all members of a cohort who start life together. See Elizabeth H. Pitney, "Mortality by Marital Status, by Age, Race, and Sex, Urban and Rural: United States, 1940," Bureau of the Census, *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. 23, No. 2, July 3, 1945.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Table 4.

<sup>9</sup> Some indirect evidence on this point may be obtained by analyzing data on persons in private households by relationship to the household head and on persons in quasi households. See Tables 11 and 12 in Part I of Volume IV of the 1940 reports on population cited above.

typical situation, therefore, the period of joint survival of husband and wife is terminated with the death of the husband. In this case, the average wife would be expected, under present conditions of mortality, to live on after her husband's death for about 13 years, to age 74; 50 years ago, she could have looked forward to living until age 68. In the less common situation, the period of joint survival is broken by the death of the wife. In that case, the average

adult relatives in the household who have not formed separate families or have moved in with the family after a period of living elsewhere.

At all stages of the family cycle, except perhaps for brief periods at the beginning and the end, the majority of the husband and wife families have one or more persons in the household who are relatives of the couple. The figures in Table 2 show that, among families in which the couple was un-

TABLE 2. COMPOSITION OF HUSBAND AND WIFE FAMILIES BY AGE OF HUSBAND, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1940

Age of Husband	Per Cent of Husband and Wife Families With—		
	One or more relatives in the home	One or more related children under 18	One or more relatives 18 or over
All ages.....	73.5	59.1	35.9
Under 25 years.....	57.0	53.5	8.9
25 to 29 years.....	68.9	65.7	11.2
30 to 34 years.....	77.9	74.7	15.8
35 to 44 years.....	82.7	77.0	29.6
45 to 54 years.....	79.7	60.2	54.5
55 to 64 years.....	66.8	35.6	55.8
65 years and over.....	50.0	18.1	44.8

husband, under mortality conditions of today, would be expected to live on for 6 years, to age 70, whereas 50 years ago he would have been likely to live until age 66.<sup>10</sup>

With the dissolution of the family by the death of both spouses, the end of the last stage in the usual family cycle has been reached.

#### CHANGES IN FAMILY COMPOSITION

*Family size.*—As the family passes through its life cycle, it expands in size and then contracts, not only because of the changing number of children in the home, but also because of the varying number of

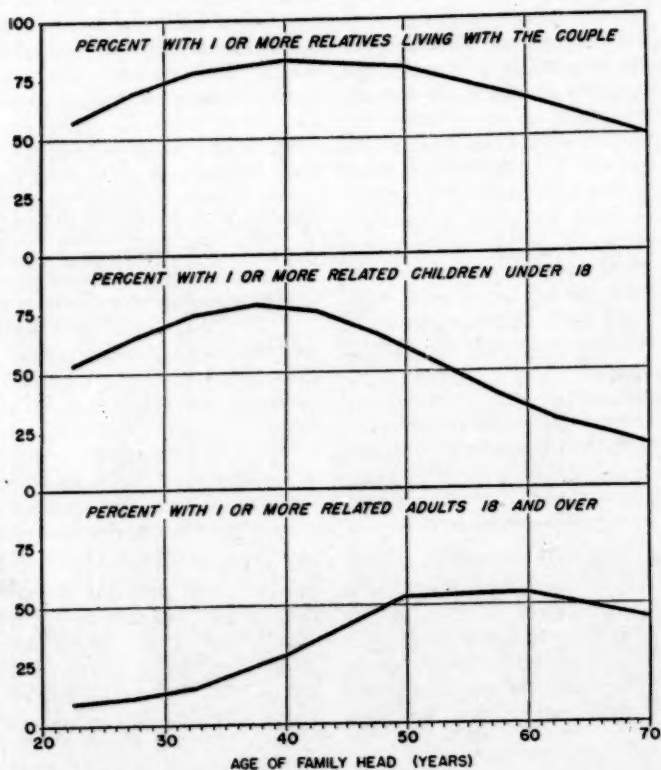
der 25 years old in 1940, 57.0 per cent had one or more relatives living with them, usually only one and that a child of their own.<sup>11</sup> During the period which includes middle age (35 to 54 years old) about four out of every five couples had relatives in the home. The modal or most frequently occurring family size during this phase was 5 or more related persons, including the husband and wife; nearly 40 per cent of the families comprised this number of persons. While the family head was in his 50's, the size of family dropped off rapidly. Half of the couples at ages 65 and over were once again living alone.

Let us now analyze separately the changing numbers of young children and of adult

<sup>10</sup> The ages at death reported in this paragraph are based on chances of survival of each spouse from the median age at marriage. See Thomas N. E. Greville, *United States Life Tables and Actuarial Tables, 1939-1941*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1946, and James W. Glover, *United States Life Tables, 1890, 1901, 1910, and 1901-1910*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1921.

<sup>11</sup> The figures presented here on family composition in 1940 were derived mainly from Census Bureau data in two sources, Tables 3 and 8 of *Types of Families*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943, and Table 11 of Part 1 of Volume IV of the 1940 reports on population cited above.

FIG. 2-COMPOSITION OF HUSBAND AND WIFE FAMILIES: U. S. 1940





relatives who make their homes with the family.

*Children living at home.*—Forty-one per cent of the husband and wife families in 1940 had no young children under 18 years of age living in the home who were related to the couple. Nearly half of those families in which the husband was under 25 years old were childless. By the time the husband reached his upper thirties slightly more than one-fifth, 21.7 per cent, were still childless or their children who had not passed their 18th birthday had either left home or died. At that time there were more families with 3 or more children under 18 than with any smaller number. At ages beyond 40 years, an increasing proportion of couples no longer had young dependents in the household. This proportion passed the one-half mark between the ages of 50 and 60 and the seven-eighths point above the age of 75.

Until the husband and wife reach middle age, nearly all of the children living at home are sons or daughters of the couple. In 1940, 11 out of every 12 relatives under 18 years old in the average family were own children of the family head. The remaining one-twelfth consisted very largely of grand-children. After the couple pass middle age, the children in the home may represent a combination of own children and grandchildren. The husband and wife are likely to reach a point in their 50's when their grandchildren represent the majority of the young children in the household.

*Adult relatives in the home.*—Sixty-four per cent of the husband and wife families in 1940 had no adult relatives 18 years old and over living in the home. Very few, about one-eighth, of the families in which the husband was under 35 years of age contained any of these additional adults. At each age of the husband above 45, however, roughly one-half of the families furnished living quarters for one or more adults besides the family head and his wife.

Let us note who these adult relatives are. Nearly three-fifths of them in 1940 were single sons or daughters of the couple who had not yet left home, of whom most were between 18 and 34 years old. This group

included about half again as many young men as young women, largely because of the fact that it is customary for men to marry at older ages than women.

About one-eighth of the adult relatives were married, widowed, or divorced sons or daughters and their spouses, if any, who were living with their parents or parents-in-law.

About one-tenth of the relatives were parents of the husband or his wife. Of these parents, about 30 per cent were fathers or fathers-in-law and about 70 per cent were mothers or mothers-in-law. One-fourth of the fathers or fathers-in-law were still married, but only about one-tenth of the mothers or mothers-in-law were still married. The preponderance of mothers among the parents living with established families is in large part a reflection of the lesser tendency for widows than widowers to remarry, the greater chances of women than men to survive to old age, and the greater economic dependency of older women than older men.

Thus, all but about one-fifth of the adult relatives were children or parents (own or in-law) of the family head or his wife. Of this one-fifth, a large proportion were brothers or sisters, including brothers- and sisters-in-law, of the family head or his wife.

#### CHANGES IN RESIDENCE AND IN ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

*Residential shifts.*—In ordinary times, about four out of every five couples establish a home apart from their parents when they marry. Furthermore, many of those who have established a home are likely to move to another location with more adequate living space when the size of their family increases. It should not be surprising, therefore, that only 41 per cent of the heads of husband and wife families were living in the same house in 1940 as in 1935, as may be seen from the figures in Table 3.<sup>12</sup> Forty-five per cent had moved to a different house within the same county (or city of 100,000 or more). Generally because of job consider-

<sup>12</sup> See Table 7 of the Census Bureau report, *Size of Family and Age of Head*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1944.

ations, 13 per cent had shifted their place of residence still greater distances; that is, they had crossed county lines (or the limits of cities of 100,000 or more) or had come to this country from abroad.

These overall averages, interesting enough in themselves, conceal some striking differentials among couples in the several stages of the family cycle. For instance, only 16 per cent of the family heads under 35 years old in 1940 were living in the same house or apartment they had been living in five years

*Home ownership.*—Closely related to residential shifts is tenure of home. In fact, a large part of the movement of families is occasioned by the purchase of a home. Few indeed of the young couples in separate living quarters own their homes. Only 12 per cent of those under 25 years of age were home owners in 1940 but by the age period 35 to 44 years more than three times that proportion, or 39 per cent, were home owners. At each advancing age of the family head the proportion owning homes increased

TABLE 3. ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF HUSBAND AND WIFE FAMILIES  
BY AGE OF HUSBAND, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1940

Age of Husband	Per cent of families in same house in 1935 as in 1940	Per cent of families owning their homes	Median rental value of home (dollars)	Median family wage or salary income in 1939* (dollars)	Per cent of family heads in labor force	Per cent of wives of family heads in labor force
All ages.....	40.9	43.2	20.96	1,398	91.8	11.9
Under 25 years.....	—	11.8	11.41	861	98.1	14.8
25 to 29 years.....	—	18.8	15.92	1,193	98.6	16.5
30 to 34 years.....	15.5 <sup>b</sup>	27.1	19.15	1,393	98.5	15.4
35 to 44 years.....	36.6	39.2	22.48	1,527	97.6	13.7
45 to 54 years.....	52.2	52.1	24.24	1,626	95.5	10.8
55 to 64 years.....	63.8 <sup>c</sup>	60.6	23.34	1,467	88.6	7.6
65 years and over..	—	68.5	20.89	1,192	52.2	4.8

\* For families with incomes of \$1 or more but with less than \$50 from sources other than wages or salary.

<sup>b</sup> Age of husband under 35 years.

<sup>c</sup> Age of husband 55 years and over.

earlier. The other 84 per cent had moved. By way of contrast, among families with the husband in the upper age range, 55 years old and over, 64 per cent were in the same home and the other 36 per cent were not. These statistics make apparent the high degree of correlation between population movement and age.

Families of young couples are not only more likely to move within a county but are also more likely to migrate between counties. Those in which the husband was under 35 years of age in 1940 were more than three times as likely to have moved into another county (or city of 100,000 or more) during the preceding five years as the group 55 years old and over.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> For data on migration of heads of private households within a State and between States (not

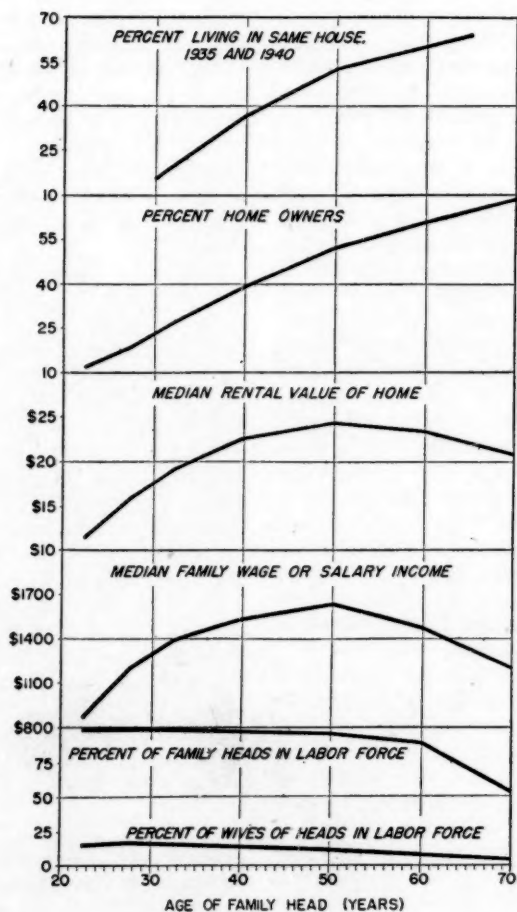
until, at age 65 and over, 69 per cent were owners.<sup>14</sup>

*Monthly rental value of home.*—Changes in the expenditure for housing space are marked by sharp increases in the earlier stages of the family cycle, for obvious reasons, and decreases in the later stages that are much less sharp. Couples under 25 in 1940 occupied homes with a median rental value of less than half as high as that for couples 45 to 54. The latter age group had

classified by age of head), see the Census Bureau report, *Internal Migration, 1935 to 1940—Social Characteristics of Migrants*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1946. For recent statistics on the migration of heads of husband and wife families by age of head, see "Migration of Families in the United States: April, 1940, to February, 1946," Series P-S, No. 14, December 26, 1946.

<sup>14</sup> See Table 1 of *Types of Families* cited above.

FIG. 3—ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF HUSBAND  
AND WIFE FAMILIES: U.S. 1940



homes with the highest median rental value. Quarters occupied by couples who had reached 65 or over had median rental values only about 15 per cent below the peak.<sup>15</sup> These and other available facts indicate that the amount of expenditure for living quarters in the later years of life is only roughly correlated with need, in terms of family size.

*Family income.*—The pattern of change in family income for wage-earner families very closely resembles that of rental value. Husband and wife families in which the husband was under 25 years old in 1940 had just about half as large a median family income during 1939 as those aged 45 to 54, the latter representing the peak group. Families in which the husband was in the oldest age group, 65 and over, had a median family income approximately 25 per cent below that in their prime.<sup>16</sup> The larger median incomes were generally found among those groups of families in which the chief earner had attained the age when he could perform with the maximum skill and usefulness in his trade or profession. Furthermore, higher family earnings were found, other things being equal, among those groups of families in which adult relatives were most common.<sup>17</sup> The earnings of these relatives helped to make possible larger payments for housing accommodations and thus also help to explain the correlation between the rental value and family income curves.

*Employment of the husband.*—All but one or two per cent of the family heads under 45 years old in 1940 were classified as members of the labor force. At ages 55 to 64, nearly 90 per cent were still working or looking for work. Above the age of 65, only slightly over half, 52 per cent, of the husbands who were family heads reported

themselves as workers. Of those in this oldest age group who were still employed, more than 40 per cent were farmers or farm laborers.<sup>18</sup>

*Employment of the wife.*—Among the wives of family heads in 1940, 12 per cent were actively engaged in work for pay or profit, other than their home housework, or were seeking such work. The maximum percentage of wives in the labor force, 16.5 per cent, was found among those whose husbands were 25 to 29 years old. At each succeeding age thereafter the proportion of wives in the labor force steadily declined. At ages of husbands above 65, only about 5 per cent of their wives were reported as workers.<sup>19</sup>

*Concluding statement.*—In the foregoing analysis, we have described a number of significant stages in the family cycle and have demonstrated that characteristics of the average family vary widely from one stage of the cycle to another.<sup>20</sup> The existence of these wide variations should be kept in mind in comparing the characteristics of families in two or more areas or social classes. For example, if a person is studying differences in home ownership among family heads in the several occupational levels, he might well limit his analysis to families with heads in a restricted age range or standardize his basic data in some manner for duration of the family as a group. This practice is already quite common in the analysis of data on fertility. It would seem to be a step in the right direction to encourage the application of similar techniques in the analysis of other types of family differentials.

<sup>15</sup> See Tables 13 and 19 of the Census Bureau report, *Families—Employment Status*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Table 11.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Table 11.  
<sup>18</sup> See Table 9 of the Census Bureau report, *Family Wage or Salary Income in 1939*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943. See also the article by T. J. Woofter, Jr., based on this report, entitled "Size of Family in Relation to Family Income and Age of Family Head," *American Sociological Review*, Volume 9, No. 6, pages 678 to 684, December, 1944.

<sup>19</sup> See Table 8 of *Size of Family and Age of Head* cited above.

<sup>20</sup> Even within each stage there is, of course, more or less variation from the average or median family on the characteristics shown. This type of intra-stage variation could be shown by presenting first and third quartile values, as well as medians, for age at first marriage, age at birth of first child, etc. Furthermore, data are available in the sources mentioned above for the analysis of many of the changes during the family cycle by color, regions, and urban and rural areas.



## PROGRESS REPORT ON THE STUDY OF SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AFFECTING FERTILITY\*

CLYDE V. KISER  
Milbank Memorial Fund  
AND

P. K. WHELPTON  
*Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems*

THE Study of Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility is a natural sequel to the studies of contraception carried out during the 'thirties by Pearl, Stix and Notestein, Beebe, and others.<sup>1</sup> These earlier studies afforded rather clinching evidence that group differences in fertility are due almost entirely to group differences in the prevalence and effectiveness of contraceptive practice. They demonstrated for the first time that class differences in fertility are virtually nonexistent among groups practicing contraception similarly or not at all. Thus they not only served to invalidate the biological interpretations of class differences in fertility, but also threw a heavy burden of evidence against existing theories that the general decline of the birth rate has been due to biological deterioration. Nevertheless, they pointed to the need for further studies, for it was realized that contraception constitutes only the *means* of family limitation and that back of the means lies a network of cultural and personal factors inducing some people, more than others, to resort to family limitation.

For several years prior to 1939 a small group of demographers met informally when occasion permitted and discussed the possibilities of organizing a cooperative study

of social and psychological factors affecting fertility. From the outset there was agreement that such a study was not only a logical but also a timely "next step." It was thought that the increasing popular concern over the low fertility of urban areas might eventuate soon in demands for some type of pronatal legislation in this country, and that unless such attempts were to be based on wishful thinking alone, there would be need for factual data concerning the human components of fertility. At the same time there was a natural reluctance to embark on a complex and expensive study in a new and uncertain field. However, the group believed that the subject was of sufficient importance to command the future interests of students, that a beginning had to be made sometime, and that a carefully planned first study should at least help to develop the methodology of such studies.

In December, 1938 the group organized itself into a Committee on the Study of Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, which has consisted since January, 1939 of Lowell J. Reed (Chairman); Daniel Katz; E. Lowell Kelly; Frank Lorimer; Frank W. Notestein; Frederick Osborn; S. A. Switzer; Warren S. Thompson; and the two authors of this report. Its work has been sponsored by the Milbank Memorial Fund with grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Previous articles<sup>2</sup> have described in some detail the methodology of the Study. Here we shall simply mention briefly certain procedures that were used and the major results that are available to date.

Owing to the complexity of its problem

\* Paper read before the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-30, 1946.

<sup>1</sup> Raymond Pearl: *The Natural History of Population*. New York, The Oxford University Press, 1939, 416 pp.

Regine K. Stix and Frank W. Notestein: *Controlled Fertility*. Baltimore, The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1940, 201 pp.

Gilbert W. Beebe: *Contraception and Fertility in the Southern Appalachians*. Baltimore, The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1942, 274 pp.

<sup>2</sup> See especially citation IV in footnote 8 *infra*.

and the necessity of developing its own techniques, the Committee spent over two years in preparing questionnaires and testing them in the field before the collection of data was begun in Indianapolis, the city chosen for study. The detailed questionnaire forms used there provided for the collection of a wide variety of data, including pregnancy and contraceptive histories since marriage, occupational and income changes, and attitudes on many matters as indicated by answers to multiple-choice questions. Although the total number of questions is very large, most of them can be classified as relevant to one or more of twenty-three hypotheses, deemed by the Committee as most deserving of investigation. These hypotheses concern the relation of family size to such factors as economic security, family background, personal aspirations, liking for children, marital adjustment, interest in religion, sex preference in children, and the like.

The expense of an intensive study of this type imposes sharp limits on the number of couples that can be included. It was desirable, therefore, to restrict the expensive interviews to a group sufficiently homogeneous to avoid the necessity of subdividing the final analysis by such factors as color, nativity, religion, type of community of residence since marriage, and duration of marriage. With a limited number of couples such subdivisions could result easily in samples too small to yield statistically valid results. The Study was restricted finally to couples with the following characteristics: husband and wife native white; both Protestant; married during 1927-1929; wife under thirty and husband under forty at marriage; neither previously married; residents of a large city most of the time since marriage; and both at least elementary school graduates.

In order to locate couples with these characteristics, a rapid canvass of virtually all white households in Indianapolis was carried out in the summer of 1941. This work was done by about fifty college students with no special previous experience, but the subsequent intensive interviews with eligible

couples were carried out by carefully selected women, most of whom had graduate training in sociology, psychology, or social work, and successful experience in interviewing families.

The preliminary Household Survey was designed to accomplish something more than the location of eligible couples. The small printed card used by the canvassers contained, in addition to the several questions relating to eligibility, questions on total number of live births and living children, and on tenure and rental value of the home. The enumerators were required to ask all questions of native-white couples with wife under forty-five, regardless of eligibility of the couples for the Intensive Study. This extra work was done not only to obtain a needed statistical base for the Intensive Study, but also because it afforded an unusual chance to add significantly though at little cost to the small body of existing data on fertility differentials by religion.

Hence, two main types of data were collected: a narrow scope of data for a large number of couples (41,498) in the preliminary Household Survey, and a wide scope of data for a small number of couples (1,444 relatively fecund and 533 relatively sterile couples in the inflated sample to be described later) in the Intensive Study.

Three papers based on the Household Survey materials have been published to date.<sup>3</sup> The first of these analyzes fertility rates among 41,498 native-white couples with wife under 45, by wife's age at enumeration and at marriage, by rental value of the home, and by religion, educational at-

<sup>3</sup> P. K. Whelpton and Clyde V. Kiser: Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility I. Differential Fertility Among 41,498 Native-White Couples in Indianapolis. The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XXI, No. 3, July, 1943, pp. 221-280 (Reprint pp. 1-60).

II. Variations in the Size of Completed Families of 6,551 Native-White Couples in Indianapolis. *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, No. 1, January, 1944, pp. 72-105 (Reprint pp. 61-94).

III. The Completeness and Accuracy of The Household Survey of Indianapolis. *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, No. 3, July, 1945, pp. 254-296 (Reprint pp. 95-138).

tainment, and birth region of the husband and wife. The second gives parity distributions among 6,551 wives of virtually completed fertility (40-44 years of age) subdivided by religion and socio-economic status as described above. The third assesses the accuracy of the Household Survey data by comparing the information about given individuals which was obtained in both the Household Survey and the Intensive Study. Because these three papers complete the analysis now planned of the Household Survey data, reprints of them have been bound together as a unit.<sup>4</sup>

Time will be taken here for only two or three brief generalizations regarding findings from the Household Survey. First, the data indicate highest fertility rates for the Catholic couples and lowest for the Jewish couples. The Catholic couples are about 18 per cent more fertile than the Protestant couples and the Jewish couples about 25 per cent less fertile than the Protestant couples. Protestant-Catholic mixed marriages exhibit a fertility rate about 10 per cent lower than that for Protestant unions. Second, the relation of fertility to socio-economic status follows the same general pattern among Catholic as among Protestant unions. However, the interclass differences in fertility and the total range of variation are proportionately smaller among the Catholic couples. Third, although the fertility rates for Catholic couples exceed those for Protestant couples at each economic level except the lowest, the proportionate excess increases sharply with improvement of economic status. This is interpreted to mean that the direct relation between economic status and practice of contraception is more sharply manifested among the Protestants than among the Catholics.

The Household Survey yielded names of 2,589 couples apparently eligible for inclusion in the Intensive Study. Budgetary considerations prohibited the inclusion of all

these, so a sampling plan was designed.<sup>5</sup> To review this very briefly, it may be stated that the original intention was to secure completed schedules from about 1,000 couples. A strictly random sample of this size would have contained too few couples with four or more children to permit separate statistical treatment; hence different sampling ratios were used for couples with no, one, two, three, or four or more live births. Furthermore, because an underlying desire was to differentiate the couples by fecundity and planning status, the sampling ratios were chosen so as to yield as nearly as possible equal numbers of fecund couples, planned as to family size, in each parity group. Several inventories of the schedules were made during the course of the field work and sampling ratios were altered to fit the need. In particular, because nearly half of the sterile couples were of zero parity, schedules were completed for only a subsample of this group. Throughout, however, special effort was made to have the sample for each parity representative of the couples of that parity in the original universe, with respect to rental value of the dwelling unit and geographic distribution by census tracts.

When the field work ended, long schedules had been completed for 860 "relatively fecund" couples and briefer ones for 220 "relatively sterile" couples. Couples were classified as "relatively sterile" if they knew or had good reason to believe that during a period of at least 24 or 36 consecutive months (24 if never pregnant, 36 if ever pregnant) they were physiologically unable to conceive. Failure to conceive in the absence of contraceptive practice "always" or "usually," was considered good reason for such belief. An exception was made for couples with four or more live births, who were arbitrarily classified as "relatively fecund."

As may be noted by comparing the top and third lines of the lower panel of Table 1, the total uninflated sample differs markedly from the original universe with respect to percentage distribution by number of live

<sup>4</sup>P. K. Whelpton and Clyde V. Kiser: *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility*. Vol. I, *The Household Survey*. New York, The Milbank Memorial Fund, 1946, 138 pp. \$1.00.

<sup>5</sup>The sampling plan and the adjustments for sampling have been described in detail in citation V of footnote 8 *infra*.

births, for it contains relatively too many couples with three or more live births and too few with smaller families. This unrepresentativeness by family size, although in large part deliberate, makes necessary the adjustment of any summary rate or average

parity group up to the magnitude of the total estimated number of eligible cooperative couples of corresponding parity and fecundity. This procedure was based on the assumption that the couples for whom schedules were completed were typical of

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION BY NUMBERS OF LIVE BIRTHS REPORTED IN THE INDIANAPOLIS HOUSEHOLD SURVEY GIVEN FOR THE ORIGINAL UNIVERSE OF ELIGIBLE COUPLES AND FOR THE INFLATED AND UNINFLATED SAMPLES OF "RELATIVELY FECUND" AND "RELATIVELY STERILE" COUPLES FOR WHOM SCHEDULES WERE COMPLETED<sup>1</sup>

Study Status	Total	No Live Birth	One Live Birth	Two Live Births	Three Live Births	Four or More Live Births
Numbers						
Original Universe <sup>a</sup> .....	2,589	529	727	801	310	221
<i>Schedules Completed:</i>						
Total—Inflated Sample.....	1,977	385	549	636	245	162
Total—Not Inflated.....	1,080	173	258	278	221	150
Rel. Fecund—Inflated Sample.....	1,444	137	385	539	221	162
Rel. Fecund—Not Inflated.....	860	93	182	236	199	150
Rel. Sterile—Inflated Sample.....	533	248	164	97	24	0
Rel. Sterile—Not Inflated.....	220	80	76	42	22	0
Percentage Distribution						
Original Universe.....	100.0	20.4	28.1	31.0	12.0	8.5
<i>Schedules Completed:</i>						
Total—Inflated Sample.....	100.1	19.5	27.8	32.2	12.4	8.2
Total—Not Inflated.....	100.0	16.0	23.9	25.7	20.5	13.9
Rel. Fecund—Inflated Sample.....	100.0	9.5	26.7	37.3	15.3	11.2
Rel. Fecund—Not Inflated.....	99.9	10.8	21.2	27.4	23.1	17.4
Rel. Sterile—Inflated Sample.....	100.0	46.5	30.8	18.2	4.5	0.0
Rel. Sterile—Not Inflated.....	100.0	36.4	34.5	19.1	10.0	0.0

<sup>a</sup> Includes one couple not reporting number of live births in the Household Survey.

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Whelpton, P. K. and Kiser, Clyde V.: Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility. V. The Sampling Plan, Selection, and the Representativeness of Couples in the Inflated Sample. The Milbank Memorial Fund *Quarterly*, January, 1946, xxiv, No. 1, p. 72 (Reprint p. 186).

that is computed for two or more parities combined. Provision for automatic adjustment of this type has been made by inflating the sample, that is, by duplicating predetermined numbers of punch cards, selected at random by use of Tippet's random numbers, for couples of given parity and fecundity status. The numbers of cards duplicated were those needed to bring the

all eligible cooperative couples of similar parity and fecundity status. Despite the absence of uncooperative couples (amounting to about 11 per cent of those contacted), the total inflated sample has been found to be quite similar to couples in the original universe with respect to distribution of the couples by such items as rental value of the dwelling unit, age of wife, education of hus-



band and wife, etc. As noted in Table 1, the total inflated sample also is quite similar to the original universe with respect to distribution by number of live births.

To give a broader perspective of the fertility characteristics of the couples in the inflated sample, Table 2 and Figure 1 are

women in the Indianapolis Household Survey; (c) the 2,589 native-white couples eligible for the Intensive Study; and (d) the 1,977 couples in the total inflated sample. It will be noted that for each age and age-at-marriage class, the fertility rates are much the same for groups (a) and (b). The

TABLE 2. FERTILITY RATES BY AGE AND AGE AT MARRIAGE, NATIVE-WHITE ONCE-MARRIED WOMEN (HUSBAND PRESENT) IN (a) CITIES OF 250,000 POPULATION AND OVER; (b) THE INDIANAPOLIS HOUSEHOLD SURVEY; (c) THE GROUP OF COUPLES ELIGIBLE FOR THE STUDY; AND (d) THE TOTAL INFLATED SAMPLE

Age of Wife		Number of Wives				Children Ever Born Per 100 Wives			
		1940 Census	Indianapolis			1940 Census	Indianapolis		
At Marriage	At Enumeration*	Cities 250,000+	Household Survey	Couples Eligible For Study	Total Inflated Sample	Cities 250,000+	Household Survey	Couples Eligible For Study	Total Inflated Sample
Under 18	25-29	47,660	1,395	251	218	232	229	226	205
Under 18	30-34	46,300	1,425	203	155	282	273	233	243
18-19	30-34	95,560	1,667	594	500	219	211	180	178
20-21	30-34	127,040	1,574	494	381	175	169	167	170
20-21	35-39	101,240	1,530	95	60	210	195	146	140
22-24	30-34	136,700	1,948	96	70	137	127	140	127
22-24	35-39	114,980	1,526	509	381	174	162	138	140
25-26	35-39	57,160	640	163	121	132	133	123	125
25-26	40-44	47,620	525	35	20	162	158	129	145
27-29	40-44	33,600	439	128	62	142	117	81	73

\* Because all of the couples "Eligible for Study" and in the "Total Inflated Sample" were married in 1927, 1928, or 1929, "Age of Wife at Enumeration" for those groups is restricted as follows: line 1, 27.29 to 29.99 years (assuming no marriages before age 16); line 2, 30.00 to 33.08 years; line 4, 31.29 to 34.99 years; line 5, 35.00 to 37.08 years; line 6, 33.29 to 34.99 years; line 8, 36.29 to 39.99 years; and line 9, 40.00 to 42.08 years. See also text footnote 7.

presented. These show for specific age and age-at-marriage groups the average numbers of children ever born per 100 wives among (a) native-white, once-married women in all cities in the United States of 250,000 population and over, as reported in the 1940 Census;<sup>6</sup> (b) native-white, once-married

rates for groups (c) and (d) resemble each other but tend to be somewhat lower than those of (a) and (b). Doubtless, the chief reasons for this are that the Intensive Study was restricted not only to Protestants, but also to couples completing elementary school, and to those residing in cities most of the time since marriage.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The census data are from U. S. Bureau of the Census: Population: Differential Fertility 1940 and 1910; Women by Number of Children Ever Born. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945, pp. 51-52.

<sup>7</sup> The breakdowns in Table 2 and Figure 1 are given by both age and age at marriage because both are necessary for valid comparisons of the census or Household Survey groups with the eligible

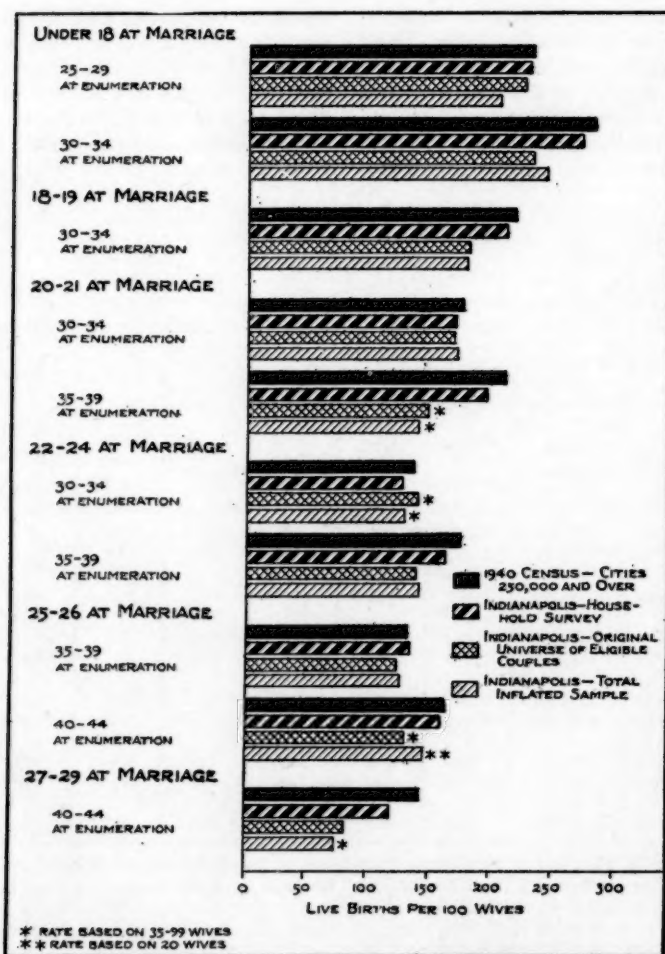


FIGURE 1. Children ever born per 100 wives by age and age at marriage. (See Table 2.)

Altogether, about seventy-five separate series of punch cards will be utilized before the Study ends. These fall into three broad

couples or inflated sample. The two latter groups, by eligibility requirements, are restricted to wives of fairly similar duration of marriage (all were married during 1927-1929 and interviewed in 1941 or early 1942—hence married 12-15 years) and also restricted to those who were under 30 at marriage. In general, therefore, whereas the younger women in the Study married very young, the older women

married comparatively late. Since duration of marriage was held virtually constant, the younger women tended to have more children than the older women. Hence, simple age-specific rates cannot be used for comparing the Study wives with those selected simply on the basis of age. If fertility rates by age of marriage and single years of age at enumeration were available, it would be preferable to use them instead of the rates by five-year age classes at enumeration. The reason is that the restrictions on year of marriage in groups (c) and (d) cause a peculiar age distribution of women in the five-year age classes at enumeration. For ex-

classes: (1) The "basic data" cards, which contain items or blocks of items in much the same order as on the original schedules; (2) the "hypothesis cards," which are derived mechanically from basic data cards and serve to bring together on one card all items pertinent to a specific hypothesis; and (3) the "special purpose" cards, such as the separate series for each interpregnancy interval, the separate series for specific methods of contraception, and other series mechanically derived for specific tasks at hand.

All of the items on the schedules have been coded and punched on "basic data" and "special purpose" cards, some of which have been used for preliminary tabulations and analyses. Only twelve of the twenty-three hypothesis cards have been prepared to date and nothing has yet been published on the basis of them. Probably the first analyses from hypothesis cards to be completed will be those concerning the relation of fertility planning to husband-wife dominance and to marital adjustment. These two hypotheses are being analyzed by Mr. Robert B. Reed as work toward a Ph.D. dissertation which he hopes to complete by June, 1947.

Three reports on the Intensive Study have been published to date, constituting Parts IV-VI of the continuing series.<sup>8</sup> Parts

ample, in groups (a) and (b) the wives aged 20 or 21 at marriage and aged 30-34 or 35-39 at enumeration were distributed fairly evenly on the latter date from exactly 30 years of age to exactly 39 years, 11 months, and 30 days. In groups (c) and (d), however, all of the wives were married between January 1, 1927, and December 31, 1929 (inclusive) and interviewed between April 15, 1941, and January 31, 1942 (inclusive), hence none who were married at ages 20 or 21 could be younger than 31 years and 3½ months or older than 37 years and 1 month when enumerated. It is believed, however, that the comparisons are not seriously biased by these differences in distribution.

<sup>8</sup> P. K. Whelpton and Clyde V. Kiser: *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility*.

IV. Developing the Schedules, and Choosing the Type of Couples and the Area to be Studied. The Milbank Memorial Fund *Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, October, 1945, pp. 386-409 (Reprint pp. 130-162).

V. The Sampling Plan, Selection, and the Representativeness of Couples in the Inflated Sample. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, January, 1946, pp. 49-93 (Reprint pp. 163-208).

IV and V are of an introductory nature, and describe the purpose, scope, and methodology of the Study, the sampling plan, and the representativeness of the inflated sample, topics already mentioned in the present report. Part VI, entitled "The Planning of Fertility," presents information as to the extent and effectiveness of efforts to space children and regulate size of family. Since the categories based on success in planning fertility will be utilized widely in the future analyses, the chief findings from the last report are reviewed briefly.

#### PREVALENCE OF FAMILY PLANNING

Since the group under study is composed of native-white, urban, Protestant couples, with at least elementary school education, it is not surprising that the large majority reported attempts to plan fertility, and that almost all of these attempts involved contraception. Among the 1,977 couples in the total inflated sample, 1,764 (or approximately 89 percent) reported some experience with contraception.<sup>9</sup> Virtually all (98 percent) of the "relatively fecund" couples, as compared with about two-thirds (64 percent) of the "relatively sterile" couples, reported deliberate attempts at contraception.

Among the "relatively fecund" couples, about 70 per cent tried to delay or prevent the first pregnancy, 21 per cent began such efforts at the end of the first pregnancy, 5 per cent at the end of the second, and 2 per cent at the end of the third. Among the "relatively sterile" couples, nearly half (49 per cent) practiced contraception before

VI. The Planning of Fertility. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, January, 1947, pp. 63-111 (Reprint pp. 209-257).

<sup>9</sup>Forty-four additional couples disavowed contraceptive practice but the wives admitted that they douched "for cleanliness only" immediately after coitus. Since past studies have indicated the potential effectiveness of douching in reducing pregnancy rates, the 44 couples could be classified as contraceptors on an "action" basis, but not on a "motive" basis. Hence, whereas 89 per cent of the couples had practiced contraception on a "motive" basis, about 92 per cent had done so on an "action" basis.

the first pregnancy, 11 per cent began at the end of the first pregnancy, and 4 per cent at the end of the second. The lower figures for the "relatively sterile" couples, of course, arise in large measure from selective factors inherent in the criteria for classifying couples and from differences in distribution by number of pregnancies.

The data under review on the effectiveness of contraception are restricted to "relatively fecund" couples. Among the 1,003 "relatively fecund" couples who practiced contraception during the first interval, nearly half (49.4 per cent) were completely successful, for they either remained childless with continued contraceptive practice or had their first pregnancy only after contraception was stopped for that purpose. In a corresponding sense, a slightly higher proportion (52.6 per cent) of the couples attempting to prevent or postpone the second pregnancy accomplished their aims. The most effective planning from this standpoint occurred in the interval following the second pregnancy, with about 63 per cent of the contraceptors managing to prevent the third pregnancy, or to postpone it until contraception was stopped in order to conceive.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF "RELATIVELY FECUND" COUPLES BY PLANNING STATUS

Available data concerning the effectiveness of contraception and attitudes toward specific pregnancies were used for classifying couples with respect to success in planning fertility. The labels and the brief descriptions of the several "planning status" groups given below are not to be regarded as strictly applicable to each and every couple in the category considered. As expected, there were a few unusual or borderline cases which necessitated the use of additional criteria or more or less arbitrary classification. These exceptional cases are discussed in some detail in the full report, so little attention will be given to them here.

The several categories listed on a descending scale with respect to success in planning fertility are as follows:

1. *Number and Spacing Planned.* This category represents the most completely

planned families, for nearly all of the couples in this class not only had the number of pregnancies they wanted but also had them at about the time they wanted them. The group contains 403 couples or about 28 per cent of all "relatively fecund" couples in the inflated sample. It is made up of two main subclasses:

(a) The 121 couples who practiced contraception "always" or "usually" and who had no pregnancy. A few of these couples might not have been able to conceive if they had stopped contraception, but because they could not be distinguished from the others all were classified as "relatively fecund."

(b) The 282 couples, all of whose conceptions occurred only after contraception was deliberately stopped in order to conceive.

2. *Number Planned.* This group consists primarily of couples whose *last* pregnancy occurred when contraception was stopped for that purpose but who also had one or more previous pregnancies occurring under other conditions. Hence it is restricted almost entirely to couples with at least two pregnancies. The few exceptions with one pregnancy are couples (a) who ended their only pregnancy by illegal abortion or (b) whose only pregnancy was not planned but who discontinued contraception a few weeks or months before the interview in order to have a second pregnancy. This group contains 205 couples or about 14 per cent of all "relatively fecund" couples.

The remaining couples (i.e., those not qualifying for either of the first two groups) had in common the fact that they did not deliberately plan the last pregnancy and were not trying to have another. Some had their last pregnancy despite efforts at contraception; some in the absence of contraception. Some welcomed the last pregnancy as a "blessed event"; others did not. In fact, some had had a number of unwelcomed pregnancies despite their efforts to prevent them.

For these remaining couples the chief criteria for classification are the attitudes of the husbands and wives toward each past



pregnancy at the time that it occurred. These attitudes were recorded on a five-point scale ranging from "wanted very much" to "definitely not wanted." If the last pregnancy or a future pregnancy was wanted by both husband and wife the couple was consigned to the "Quasi-Planned" group. If the last pregnancy was not wanted by both husband

and wife. This class is typified by couples having an accidental pregnancy while contraception was being practiced but both husband and wife being pleased by the "accident." It also contains a few couples who professed that they never started contraception until they had the number of children they

TABLE 3. "RELATIVELY FECUND" COUPLES BY NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES, NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS, AND NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN, BY PLANNING FERTILITY STATUS.<sup>1</sup>

Planning Fertility Status	Average Per Couple	Percentage With						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6+
Pregnancies								
Number and Spacing Planned...	1.2	30.0	34.0	28.8	5.5	1.5	0.2	—
Number Planned.....	2.6	—	2.9	56.1	25.9	11.7	1.5	2.0
Quasi-Planned.....	2.2	—	28.0	43.2	17.0	6.8	3.3	1.8
One-Too-Many.....	2.8	—	13.9	23.6	38.9	16.4	5.7	1.4
Two-Plus-Too-Many.....	5.0	—	—	4.9	6.9	32.4	23.5	32.4
Total.....	2.3	8.4	21.4	34.5	18.6	9.7	4.1	3.4
Live Births								
Number and Spacing Planned...	1.1	31.3	36.7	27.8	3.0	1.0	0.2	—
Number Planned.....	2.3	2.0	7.8	61.5	20.0	7.3	0.5	1.0
Quasi-Planned.....	2.0	0.9	32.4	44.3	13.9	6.8	1.1	0.7
One-Too-Many.....	2.5	0.4	19.3	32.9	33.9	10.4	2.1	1.1
Two-Plus-Too-Many.....	4.2	—	—	8.8	22.5	31.4	18.6	18.6
Total.....	2.0	9.3	25.3	37.4	16.2	7.7	2.2	1.9
Living Children								
Number and Spacing Planned...	1.0	31.3	38.7	26.1	3.2	0.5	0.2	—
Number Planned.....	2.2	2.0	10.7	63.4	18.5	4.9	—	0.5
Quasi-Planned.....	1.9	0.9	35.2	44.5	13.2	4.6	1.1	0.4
One-Too-Many.....	2.4	0.4	20.7	33.9	34.3	8.2	1.8	0.7
Two-Plus-Too-Many.....	4.1	—	—	8.8	23.5	36.3	13.7	17.6
Total.....	2.0	9.3	27.4	37.5	16.0	6.4	1.7	1.6

<sup>1</sup> The fertility planning classification is based on pregnancies, without an allowance for underplanning. In this table an adopted child is classified as though it were born to the couple.

and wife the couple was consigned to the "One-Too-Many" or "Two-Plus-Too-Many" category, depending upon the number of pregnancies after the last wanted. These three classes are further described as follows:

3. *Quasi-Planned.* This group consists of couples whose last pregnancy was not deliberately planned but either it or a future

wanted. The "Quasi-Planned" group, with 454 couples or 31 per cent of all "relatively fecund" couples is larger than any other.

4. *One-Too-Many.* This group is composed of couples whose number of pregnancies after the last wanted by husband plus the number after the last wanted by wife equals 1, 2, or 3. These sums represent averages of  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  for the couple; hence the

group is labeled "One-Too-Many" for convenience. This group includes 280 couples or about 19 per cent of all "relatively fecund" couples.

5. *Two-Plus-Too-Many*. This group is composed of couples whose number of pregnancies after the last wanted by husband and after the last wanted by wife equals four or more, or averages 2 or more for the

Regardless of which index of fertility is used, however, the relation of fertility to planning status is, with one exception, inverse. The exception is the higher fertility of the "Number Planned" group than of the "Quasi-Planned" group. This is something of an artificial situation inherent in the planning categories that were used. For reasons explained previously, all of the

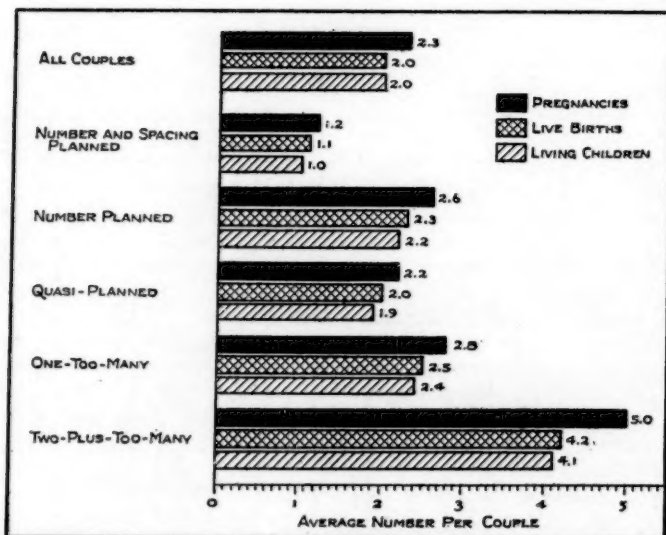


FIGURE 2. Average number of pregnancies, live births, and living children per couple, by fertility-planning status of the couple. (See Table 3.)

couple. These couples, numbering 102, constitute about 7 per cent of all "relatively fecund" couples.

The actual fertility of the couples in the several planning groups may be considered briefly. The average number of pregnancies per couple was 1.2 for the "Number and Spacing Planned" group, 2.6 for the "Number Planned" group, 2.2 for the "Quasi-Planned" group, 2.8 for the "One-Too-Many" group, and 5.0 for the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group. (See Table 3 and Figure 2.) As expected, the average numbers of live births run a little lower owing to pregnancy wastage, and the average numbers of living children still lower because of child mortality.

couples in the "Number Planned" group had at least one pregnancy and almost all (over 96 per cent) had at least two. The "Quasi-Planned" group contains no never-pregnant couples, but the once-pregnant couples constitute nearly one-third of the group.

The relatively high fertility of the two "excess fertility" groups, especially of the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group is, of course, implicit in the requirements for admission to these groups. By definition, the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group is restricted to couples with at least two pregnancies. Actually, 88 per cent of them had four or more pregnancies.

Despite the fact that the planning-status categories are of such a nature as to enforce

an inverse relation between fertility and planning status, the inverse relation has some reality in its own right. This is seen when the comparison is based entirely on the couples with two or more pregnancies. The interclass differences then become smaller but the exception to the inverse relation disappears. The average number of pregnancies per couple having two or more pregnancies is 2.3 for the "Number and Spacing Planned" group, 2.6 for the "Number Planned" group, 2.7 for the "Quasi-Planned" group, 3.1 for the "One-Too-Many" group and 5.0 (as before) for the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group.

As expected, there are wide variations by planning status in the average length of interpregnancy intervals. Among the "Number and Spacing Planned" couples having a first pregnancy, the average interval from marriage to first conception is 54 months. It is about 17 months for the "Number Planned," "Quasi-Planned," and "One-Too-Many" groups, and less than 7 months for the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group. Between the first puerperium and second conception, however, the range of variation is smaller, being approximately 40 months for the two most successfully planned groups, 30 months for the "Quasi-Planned" and "One-Too-Many" groups, and 16 months for the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group. Still further reductions in range of variation are found in subsequent intervals, for, whereas average length of interval decreases with increasing order among the "Number and Spacing Planned" group, the opposite holds true for the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group. Although small numbers prohibit reliable comparisons, the average interval between the third puerperium and fourth conception is actually longer (37 months) for the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group than for any other (25-29 months). The increasing resort to contraception with successive pregnancies accounts for the progressively increasing length of interpregnancy intervals among the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group. On the other hand, the length of interpregnancy intervals decreased in the "Number and Spacing Planned" group, for some of the couples who had only planned one pregnancy waited until they

had been married seven years or longer, whereas few of those who planned a fourth pregnancy waited as much as five years difference between the ages of their third and fourth children.

As previously stated, virtually all of the "relatively fecund" couples in the Study eventually practiced contraception. There were some differences by planning status in time at which knowledge of contraception was first acquired but these apparently had relatively minor bearing on the differences in fertility. All but two of the wives in the "Number and Spacing Planned" group reported learning of contraception before marriage or shortly thereafter. A fairly uniform proportion (63-67 per cent) of the wives in the other groups professed having such knowledge at the beginning of their married lives. By the time the second pregnancy occurred the informed wives constituted 85 per cent of the least planned group and 88-100 per cent of the other groups.

More important, but apparently still not a major factor in causing the expressed fertility differentials, are the variations by planning status in the interval at which the knowledge of contraception was first put to use. Virtually all (98 per cent) of the couples in the "Number and Spacing Planned" group began intentional contraception before the first pregnancy, whereas only one-half of the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" couples and 57-60 per cent of the couples in the intermediate groups did so. However, the differentials narrowed considerably before the second pregnancy and were virtually eliminated by the time the fourth pregnancy occurred, when 94 per cent or more of the couples in each planning group were reported as having made some attempt at birth control.

There is more satisfactory evidence that the differences in time of beginning contraception had no major bearing on the observed fertility differentials by planning status. This is provided by computing for each planning group the average number of pregnancies that would have occurred per couple had there been no conceptions after the first efforts at contraception. Under these conditions none of the "Number and Spac-

ing Planned" couples would have had a pregnancy, but the highest average (that for the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group) would have been only 1, and the average for each of the intermediate groups would have been a fraction of 1. These averages were derived simply by dividing the total number of pregnancies occurring before any contraception was started by the total number of women in the group.

The differences in regularity and effective use of contraception after it was started are the important correlatives of the observed fertility differentials by planning status. This is not surprising since the classes were established on the basis of success in planning fertility. It is nevertheless of interest to examine the estimated quantitative reduction in fertility effected by the contraception that was actually practiced by couples in each of the several planning groups. These estimates are made by comparing the "expected" average numbers of pregnancies per couple (the number that would have occurred if there had been no contraception whatsoever) with the observed or actual averages. The method of computing the "expected" averages is similar in principle to that used in previous studies, and involves dividing the average total number of months married by the sum of (a) the average number of months required for a conception during periods of noncontraceptive exposure, (b) the average duration of pregnancies, and (c) one month for each puerperium. The computations were made separately for the experience before and after the first pregnancy.

The average number of "expected" pregnancies per couple under assumptions of no attempts to plan fertility are approximately the same for each planning group. Specifically, they are 7.8, 8.0, 7.4, 7.6 and 7.9 in the respective order of the groups as previously listed. These figures indicate fairly definitely that if there are differences in the fecundity (biological ability to conceive) of the several planning groups, they are small and unsystematic. One qualification should be entered, however: it is probable that a few of the never-pregnant couples who always

practiced contraception were in fact sterile and hence could not have yielded the pregnancies expected without contraception. The comparison of "expected" with actual pregnancies indicates that, as practiced by couples in the several planning groups, contraception reduced the number of pregnancies by 85 per cent in the "Number and Spacing Planned" groups, by only about 38 per cent in the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group, and by 63-71 per cent in the intermediate classes.

The differential efficiency of planning may also be considered from the standpoint of the actual number of pregnancies in relation to the desired number. As already stated, the three topmost planning classes are, by definition, those having no more pregnancies than the couples professed to want. The latter two, again by definition, are those having one or more after the last wanted. If no pregnancies had occurred after the last wanted, the couples in the two excess fertility groups would have had on the average as few pregnancies as, or fewer than, couples in the other groups. The averages desired on this basis are about 2 for the "One-Too-Many" group and 2.2 for the "Two-Plus-Too-Many" group. These low averages may reflect pessimistic afterthoughts of the relatively unsuccessful planners. On the other hand, the more successful planners, constituting nearly three-fourths of the total group of "relatively fecund" couples, had on the average only slightly larger numbers.

One may reasonably expect that constantly increasing proportions of the total urban population will be enabled in the future to restrict the size of the family to the number desired. If the small family ideal remains unchanged, this will mean a further reduction in urban birth rates. An answer to the question as to whether attitudes toward size of family can themselves be socially conditioned will depend in no small measure upon the development of our knowledge concerning the social and psychological determinants of human fertility. It is hoped that some light on these matters will be afforded by future analyses of the Indianapolis data.



## PREDICTING MARITAL ADJUSTMENT BY COMPARING A DIVORCED AND A HAPPILY MARRIED GROUP\*

HARVEY J. LOCKE

*University of Southern California*

THIS PAPER is a preliminary report of a study of adjustment in marriage which has two somewhat unique features:<sup>1</sup> (1) It is a comparison of marriages ending in divorce with marriages outsiders judged to be the most happily married known to them. (2) The subjects are fairly representative of the general population whereas those of previous marital prediction studies have been predominantly white-collar, middle class and highly educated. The unrepresentative character of the two previous marital prediction studies is indicated by the fact that 52.5 per cent of husbands in the Burgess-Cottrell group engaged in professional, semiprofessional or upper business activities and 56.5 per cent of husbands in the Terman study held professional, business executive, or managerial positions; the income level of the subjects of both studies was relatively high; and 58.2 per cent of Burgess-Cottrell subjects and 73.2 per cent of Terman subjects had one or more years of education beyond high school, with 16.2 per cent and 27.7 per cent respectively having one or more years of graduate work.<sup>2</sup>

The paper will deal with four topics: (1) the nature of the sample; (2) the criteria of adjustment; (3) whether or not divorced persons are good risks in subsequent marriages; and (4) marital prediction items.

*The Sample.* The sample of divorced persons was secured by getting from the courthouse files all the names of couples divorced in the years immediately preceding the time

of interviewing, and contacting everyone that could be located. The happily married sample was secured from the names of the most happily married known by a random sample of married persons. The divorced sample is composed of 201 persons and their respective former mates, plus 123 persons where only one side of the case was secured. The married group is composed of 200 persons with their respective mates. Thus, there are 925 individual cases.<sup>3</sup> The cooperation of given persons of these two samples was secured through personal interviews by the author or by a person under his supervision.

The subjects are almost exclusively, over 96 per cent, native born of native born parents. They are Protestants or of Protestant parents, and have a rural or small city background.<sup>4</sup>

It was expected that the divorced would have shorter marriages than the happily married. A larger per cent of divorced than happily married were married for each five year period up to and including 15-19, and a larger per cent of happily married than divorced for each five-year period beginning with 20-24. The per cent of divorced and happily married whose marriages were of less than ten years' duration was respectively 56.0 and 38.6. The average length of years married for the divorced was 10.7 and for the happily married 16.0.

The educational level is similar to that of the general population. About half, 48.9 per cent, of the divorced and four out of ten, 43.7 per cent, of the happily married attained eighth grade or under in educa-

\* Paper read before the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-30, 1946.

<sup>1</sup> The study was begun in 1938 and most of the cases had been secured by the spring of 1943.

<sup>2</sup> Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939, pp. 24-27. Lewis M. Terman, et al., *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. 41-43.

<sup>3</sup> Seventy-two divorced cases, where the marriage had been due to pregnancy, are excluded from the following analysis.

<sup>4</sup> In 1940, Monroe county, Indiana, where the cases were collected, had a population of 36,534. It had one small city of 20,870; the per cent distribution of the population was 57.1 urban, 18.3 rural-nonfarm, and 24.6 rural farm.

tional level; 40.3 per cent of the divorced and 37.4 of the happily married, attended high school; and 10.8 per cent of the divorced and 18.8 per cent of the happily married went beyond high school. As compared with the median grade of 8.6 for the United States and 8.7 for Indiana, the median is 8.9 for the divorced and 9.5 for the married. The samples appear to be fairly representative of the population from which they were drawn.

Four factors may have operated to reduce the representativeness of the samples: (1) Refusal of subjects to answer the questions—of contacted cases 14.6 per cent of the divorced and 5 per cent of the married refused; (2) difficulty in contacting persons who moved to distant places; (3) remarriage or living together of a few divorced persons; and (4) the use of different interviewers.

The question of the effect of using different interviewers is a particularly interesting methodological question. An analysis of this problem was attempted by comparing the average adjustment score of cases interviewed by the author and the average adjustment score of cases secured by others. The adjustment scores were derived from the Burgess-Cottrell adjustment questions and weights. The comparison was for divorced men, divorced women, divorced men and women combined, and the same three groups of the married sample. The critical ratios, ranging from .08 to .23, indicate that the difference between the average marital adjustment score of the author's cases and those of cases secured by others is not statistically significant in any of the six comparisons. The use of different interviewers apparently did not result in significantly different responses from subjects.

*Criteria of Adjustment.* Is divorce a criterion of "poor" adjustment and "happy" marriage, as judged by a relative, friend, or acquaintance, a criterion of "good" adjustment? As was indicated above, the Burgess-Cottrell adjustment questions were included in the study. It will be remembered that their adjustment scale was constructed from questions indicative of the presence or absence of agreements and disagreements, common

interests and activities, demonstration of affection, confiding, satisfaction of dissatisfaction with marriage, and feelings of happiness and loneliness. The adjustment score of a marriage is secured by adding the weights assigned to each of the twenty-six adjustment questions. The maximum score is 194 points.

The validity of divorce and happy marriage as criteria of marital adjustment can be tested by determining the degree to which the Burgess-Cottrell adjustment scale differentiates between the two groups. The following analysis will also be a test of the validity of the Burgess-Cottrell adjustment scale when applied to a sample having quite different social characteristics.

The difference between the divorced and married groups will be analyzed in three ways: One way is to compare the average adjustment scores of the two groups. The average score of individual married men is 167.3 as compared with 110.7 for divorced men; for women the respective scores are 165.6 and 106.6.<sup>5</sup>

A second method of testing the validity of the criteria is to compare the samples in terms of the *average* of the combined scores of given husbands and their wives. When this is done the scores of 70.4 per cent of the married couples are higher than the score of any divorced couple, and the scores of 50.0 per cent of divorced couples are lower than the score of any married couple. Ninety-two per cent of the married have scores higher than all but 10 per cent of the divorced.

A third method is to compare the two groups in terms of the three general categories used by Burgess and Cottrell: "poor" adjustment, 20-119 points; "fair" 120-159; and "good," 160-194. The scores of divorced men and women are concentrated in the poor adjustment class with a very small per cent having good adjustment scores, and those of the married men and women are concentrated in the good category with a very small per cent in the poor adjustment class. The respective per cents of individual

<sup>5</sup> The respective CRs are 1.34 and 1.50.

divorced men and women having scores in the poor adjustment class are 60.8 and 69.5 as compared with only 4.5 and 2.5 for the married. The per cents of divorced men and women having scores in the good adjustment class are 8.1 and 8.2 as compared with 71.1 and 68.3 for married men and women. There is considerable overlapping in the middle or fair adjustment class: 31.1 and 22.3 per cent for divorced, and 24.4 and 29.2 for the married.

This distribution of scores in the three general categories shows that the marital adjustment scale works fairly well in segregating good from poor adjustment, but does not do as well in the fair or intermediate class.<sup>6</sup>

An interesting problem was raised by those divorced couples, about one fourth of the total, whose average combined score was in the intermediate or fair adjustment class. An investigation revealed that these couples got along well or fairly well in most things, but that the values of a given husband and wife were so different on one or two kinds of behavior that the marriage was thrown out of adjustment. In 73.8 per cent of these cases one or both reported that adultery was one of the major difficulties which led to divorce. Drink, trouble with in-laws, and menopause were given as major difficulties by 14.3 per cent. Thus, 88.1 per cent gave a principal factor as the basis of difficulties in the marriage. A clash of values on such things as adultery, drink, in-laws, and the like was so great that one or both could not or would not adjust to it.

This raises the question of whether the Burgess-Cottrell adjustment scale is an adequate device for measuring the adjustment of a marriage in cases where it is thrown out of adjustment by what one or both consider a major breach of desirable marital behavior. It is interesting to note, however,

<sup>6</sup>The average adjustment scores of given husbands and their wives, while having about the same distribution as when made in terms of individual scores, are different in that no divorced couple got a score in the good class and only four married couples got scores in the poor category. These four married couples have been discarded from the "happily" married sample.

that, whereas the average score of these husbands and wives fall in the fair adjustment class, in about two thirds of the cases the score of either the husband or the wife falls in the poor adjustment category. It is also interesting to note that, whereas the average combined score of about one fourth of the happily married couples fall in the fair adjustment class, in about half of the cases the scores of either the husband or the wife fall in the good adjustment category. The overlapping is greatly reduced if the highest scores of either spouse of married couples are compared with the lowest scores of either spouse of divorced couples.

We conclude from the above that divorce and "happily" married as judged by an outsider have validity as criteria of marital adjustment and that the Burgess-Cottrell marital adjustment scale, even when applied to a radically different sample, has considerable validity.

*Adjustment of Divorced Persons in Subsequent Marriages.* Do divorced persons constitute good or bad risks in subsequent marriages? While the present study can give no conclusive answer to this question, it has produced some evidence that subsequent marriages of divorced persons turn out pretty well. Of those couples recommended as the most happily married known to an outsider, 15 persons had had prior marriages terminated by divorce. The average adjustment score of these 15 persons was 160.7 as compared with 166.7 for the rest of the married sample. The difference is not statistically significant.<sup>7</sup>

One hundred and forty-six persons in the divorced sample, who had married again, gave information on the happiness of their present marriages. Nearly half, 44.5 per cent, rated their present marriage very happy; about one third, 32.2 per cent, rated it happy; 12.5 per cent rated it average; and only one in ten rated it unhappy or very unhappy, 4.6 and 6.2 per cent respectively. Thus, 76.7 per cent of these cases rated their subsequent marriages as happy or very happy, which compares rather favorably

<sup>7</sup>CR is .19.

with the 90 per cent of the most happily married persons who rated their marriages in these two categories. The conclusion that divorced persons in this particular sample constituted good risks in subsequent marriages seems warranted.

*Marital Prediction Items.* Prediction involves the combination and weighting of items into a prediction scale. This will be done later, but at present the predictive items will be discussed separately.

The Burgess-Cottrell study and that of Terman both found a fairly high association between the rating subjects gave their parents' marriages and the degree of marital adjustment of the subjects.<sup>8</sup> The results of the present study gave limited support to the earlier findings. On a five-point happiness scale—very happy, happy, average, unhappy, and very unhappy—a significantly larger per cent of happily married than divorced men rated their parents' marriages as "very happy" and a significantly smaller per cent gave ratings of "average." A significantly larger per cent of happily married women than divorced women gave ratings of "happy." The critical ratios support the conclusion that there is a fair probability that persons in adjusted marriages come from happy homes more frequently than do persons in unadjusted marriages.<sup>9</sup>

Length of acquaintance was found by previous studies to have a high correlation with marital adjustment.<sup>10</sup> The present study supports the importance of this predictive item, particularly in the case of women. For women, six months or less of acquaintance is probably associated and a year or less is unquestionably associated with marital maladjustment. The respective critical ratios are

1.98 and 3.00. Three years and over, with a critical ratio of 2.16, is probably associated with marital adjustment. For men, six months or less of acquaintance is probably associated with marital maladjustment and three years and over is probably associated with marital adjustment. The respective critical ratios are 1.60 and 2.06.

The most significant predictive items discovered to date in the present study are conventionality and sociability.<sup>11</sup> Conventionality may be measured by where the marriage took place, affiliation with a church, age at which stopped going to Sunday school, and regularity of church attendance. Sociability for many persons in the population from which the samples were drawn is almost exclusively limited to Sunday school and church activities.

Being married by a justice of the peace is not preferred in our culture and is unquestionably associated with maladjustment in marriage. More than one out of four divorced men and women as compared with one in eight married men and women were married by a justice of the peace.<sup>12</sup> The critical ratios for men and women were respectively 3.09 and 3.42. Marriage at home, at church, or at minister's home is preferred and is probably associated with marital success. The critical ratios for men and for women were respectively 2.59 and 2.03.

Affiliation with a church is probably a mark of a sociable personality and is highly associated with marital adjustment. Not belonging to a church is unquestionably associated with maladjustment in marriage. Of divorced men 41.0 per cent as compared with only 23.8 per cent of married men did not belong to a church. The critical ratio is 3.79. Of divorced women 28.6 per cent did not belong to a church as compared with only 14.9 per cent of married women. The critical ratio is 3.47.

The later the age at which attendance at Sunday school is stopped the greater the

<sup>8</sup> Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-102. Lewis M. Terman, et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 202-207.

<sup>9</sup> The respective per cents of married and divorced men who gave ratings in the five categories are: 32.1, 22.3, CR 2.19; 31.6, 31.7; 20.5, 40.6, CR 2.31; 4.2, 3.0; 2.6, 2.4. For women the per cents are: 27.8, 31.1, CR .74; 30.4, 23.7, CR 1.56; 32.0, 34.2, CR .48; 5.7, 8.8; 4.1, 2.2.

<sup>10</sup> Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-65, 406. Lewis M. Terman, et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 197-98.

<sup>11</sup> For the findings of Burgess and Cottrell see *op. cit.*, pp. 122-26, 278, 392-93.

<sup>12</sup> Persons with one or more prior marriages to the marriage in question were excluded from the analysis of place of marriage.



chances of marital success. While this is true for both men and women, there is a slight difference between them in that women have to go longer than men. For men, going through the age of ten is clearly significant for marital adjustment, whereas women have to continue into the age period 11-14 before a clearly significant difference between the married and divorced appears.

Frequent attendance at church is positively correlated with probabilities of marital success and is a more important factor for husbands than for wives. The happily married attended church much more frequently than did the divorced. This was true for both the first and the last half of marriage. It is somewhat significant for husbands to go two or three times a month and it is very significant if they go four or more times a month. For wives, significance of church attendance is only at the extremes: never going to church is without question associated with marital maladjustment and going four or more times a month is unquestionably associated with marital adjustment.

A few figures on the last half of marriage illustrate the above points. The per cent of divorced men who never attended church was 46.2 as compared with only 21.3 per cent of married men; for women the respective per cents were 39.8 and 15.3. Attendance at church four or more times a month was engaged in by only 11.0 per cent of divorced men as compared with 32.2 per cent of married men; for women the respective per cents were 19.9 and 40.7. The critical ratios of the above differences were in all cases nearly or above 5. Going to church two or three times a month is not

a significant factor in the marital adjustment of women, but is somewhat important for men: 13.3 per cent of the divorced and 19.1 per cent of the married men report this frequency. The critical ratio is 1.56.

Thus for both men and women never going to church is a highly negative factor and going frequently is a highly positive factor in marital adjustment. However, as was implied above, this as well as where the marriage takes place, affiliation with a church, and age at which attendance at Sunday school is discontinued are probably not in and of themselves important for marital success. They probably indicate basic tendencies toward conventionality, sociability, and stability of persons. The fact that, for the most part, they have to be engaged in more frequently by women than by men before they become equally significant may be due to the fact that in American culture women are expected to be more conventional and they have to be more sociable and stable in that they have to make the major adjustments in marriage.

*Summary.* Three conclusions have been drawn from the comparative study of a divorced and a happily married group: (1) Divorce and happiness in marriage as judged by an outsider, and the Burgess-Cottrell adjustment scale both have validity in determining different degrees of marital adjustment. (2) In this sample subsequent marriages of divorced persons were fairly successful. (3) A prediction scale, based on such things as happiness of parents' marriages, length of acquaintance, conventionality, and sociability, will be highly correlated with marital adjustment.

Conventionality and Lack of Imagination are  
highly associated with marital "adjustment"  
also !!

# THE ROLE OF THE GUEST: A STUDY IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT\*

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD AND ELEANOR S. BOLL

*University of Pennsylvania*

THE IMPORTANCE of family and home experience in the child's development is recognized by all the sciences dealing with human behavior; much less attention has been given to the factors and processes involved. Particularly striking is the failure to study such an important factor as the role of the guest. What is the role of the guest in family life, with particular reference to the child's development? This article is a report on one phase of a larger study on the role of the guest. It is based on an analysis of 200 published autobiographies, to ascertain to what extent the authors made any reference to guests in their early home life or personal development. The only basis of selection was that the authors must have written to some extent of their early life.

This particular use of autobiographical material in the study of behavior can be related to the discussions of Allport, Krueger, Burr, Murchison and others.<sup>1</sup> Its use in the present study has a specific purpose, in addition to any other values inherent in it. This purpose is to show to what extent and in what ways persons, chiefly of distinction and intelligence, who survey in maturer years the "scenes of their childhood," emphasize, without the promptings or suggestions of a research project, the role of the guest in their early family life and personal development. In other words, how do persons to whom the importance of a guest has not been suggested by questioners and questionnaires write of family guests in their early life development? It is believed that the answer to these questions is of value: first, as an indication of the

importance which authors of autobiographies attach to the role of the guest; second, as a revelation of the ways in which the guest is considered to be important; and third, for the leads which it suggests for the personal interviews which constitute a subsequent part of a larger study.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AUTHORS OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

In the large majority of cases, the author's success in some occupation or profession inspired the writing of his life-story. But lack of success was also an instigator of self-revelation, as was the accident of royal birth, or just a rich or extraordinary life. Below is a list of the adult status of the people whose guest experiences we are studying:

4 editors	2 members of royalty
1 publisher	5 doctors
51 writers	2 artists
25 novelists	1 photographer
5 poets	1 cartoonist
3 playwrights	5 actors
4 newspaper correspondents and journalists	1 opera singer
4 biographers	1 musician
2 historians	6 teachers and professors
8 others	1 physicist
4 diplomats	1 psychologist
1 congressman	1 botanist
1 member of House of Commons	1 philologist
1 governor	1 engineer
1 President of U.S.A.	1 lawyer
1 naval intelligence officer	1 inventor
1 fleet captain	1 clergyman
1 soldier	1 Jesuit
1 business executive	1 explorer
1 building commissioner	1 rancher
1 physically afflicted person	4 travellers
3 members of racial minority group	1 cook
	1 welfare officer
	1 social worker
	1 social reformer
	1 relief case

The sex and nationality of the authors is found in the following chart:

\* Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, December 27-30, 1946.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Allport, Gordon W., *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science*, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1942. The report contains an extended bibliography.

	Male	Female	Total
American	39	25	64
British and European	32	14	46
Russian	2	3	5
Japanese		1	1
Latin American		1	1
Total	53	44	117

Most of the authors recalled and reported on the guests who visited them when they were children not yet in their teens. Only 32 visits made during the adolescence of the author were recorded, as over against 152 made while the author was a young child.

#### INCIDENCE OF GUEST NARRATIVES IN AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

The first outstanding fact is that in a group of 200 autobiographies, selected at random, but including the period of the author's childhood, 117 contained direct references to guests entertained at home. Eighty-three made no mention of any visitors.

Those authors who did write of guests varied considerably in the extent to which they included guest experiences as important parts of their history. These variations ranged from a two- or three-line guest reference to whole chapters devoted to visitors and the entertainment of them. In but two cases, though, did the author mention guests in such an incidental way as to make the reader assume that neither the fact of the entertaining nor the guest himself had made upon the child an important, conscious impression which lasted into adulthood. All of the other 115 authors related their guest experiences as vivid, lasting impressions, worthy of record as part of a family or of a personal history.

#### AMOUNT OF ENTERTAINING

The amount of entertaining of guests by the authors' families also varied a great deal. Half of the writers gave their readers no clue to the frequency of visiting in their homes. The other half were quite specific. Forty-five mentioned that their parents had guests frequently, or almost all the time. Eight wrote that there were very few visitors

to their homes, and three mentioned times in their lives when their entertaining habits changed radically, from often to seldom, or the reverse.

The amount of entertaining done had no marked correlation with the importance given to guests in the life-story. One of the merely incidental references was made to let the reader know that the author's father had many visitors; while some of the authors who stated that they had few guests devoted pages to the description of those few.

In the 117 life stories, there were 232 separate allusions to guests visiting the home. These have been studied individually in the analysis of guest experiences which is to follow. They were of two kinds. First, there was the allusion to guests in general and to the entertaining of them. These served to show the *kinds* of guests that came to the home, and the kinds of entertainment offered them; how parents reacted generally in the presence of guests; and how children acted, or were supposed to act. There were 36 such references. Second, there was the mention of a specific guest or number of guests at a specific time. There were 166 such allusions.

#### ANALYSIS OF GUEST NARRATIVES

Some of the observations made in the autobiographies about the role of the guest in the family were echoed almost identically by author after author. These are assumed to be common features of the entrance of visitors into a family circle, at least for this group of writers. They are classified below, and described by selected examples from the guest-narratives.

1. *The guest as a standard for measuring parents.* A frequent common memory of guests mentioned by autobiographers was that of a comparison of the guest with a parent. The newness of the behavior of a guest, as contrasted with the familiarity of the parent's personality, sometimes made children very sensitive to traits which they had either taken for granted or had not been aware of before. Here are some examples:

One of his father's "Sunday Evenings" was a long-remembered eye-opener to one

of the writers. The father had the utmost contempt for anyone who could not do a stunt to add to the entertainment. It was his only condemnation of anyone. Joe, a guest, could not do stunts. He was a quiet, reticent man, and was figuratively cast aside by his host as having no "gumption." One night a bathroom pipe burst, releasing a torrent of water through the ceiling. Father was helpless; but Joe very quietly set about repairing the leak. The child thought: this is no time for a nit-wit entertainer. And his mother mentioned that his father could not have fixed that thing in a million years.<sup>2</sup>

An author reports that as a boy he was thrilled by a guest who romped with him and never seemed to grow tired. His father, he realized, did not know how to play with youngsters, and if he tried, the play always ended in cross words and tears.<sup>3</sup>

The behavior of a mother who was always cold and harsh toward her daughter was highlighted for still another writer on the occasion when a young lady guest took her upon her lap and fondled her. The mother suddenly rose and knocked her child to the floor. The guest departed and never came back, but the girl always remembered the sharp contrast between the guest's behavior and her mother's.<sup>4</sup>

Vivian Hughes used to listen to her mother entertaining. She was pleased and amused by her mother's intelligence and sense of humor as compared with the stupidity of the "usual female visitors" who enjoyed only worries and grievances. She used to count the times these females said "Yes" in answer to her mother's tactful attempts to divert them with some new topic; and once, during an uneasy silence, she told her mother that she knew what she was thinking: What could she possibly say next?<sup>5</sup>

In some cases, it was not so much a direct

comparison of personalities as it was the guests' estimates of parents which gave new insight to the children. Edgar Lee Masters was very much gratified by the frequent visits of his school teacher to his mother, who had had no great amount of formal education, but who had read widely, and had such a lively wit and sense of narrative that she was quite a match for the school mistress, and kept her roaring with laughter.<sup>6</sup> And William Gerhardt used to watch his mother dancing at the balls given for his sister. The mother was much sought after as a partner, and the boy felt that some of the men who came to the house were more attracted to her than to his sister. He saw her, on those occasions, as beautiful and youthful looking.<sup>7</sup>

Their parents' behavior before guests was also a revelation to the children: in some cases it was a source of new pride; in others, a severe disappointment.

When the Reverend dropped in to see the father of one author, and asked his host if he did not feel nearer to heaven every day, his host answered, "I can't say that I do." His son, listening, was overjoyed at his father's honesty and bravery, for he hated cant.<sup>8</sup> But another writer went through agonies watching his father "show off" and "tell tall tales" to the very respectable men he brought home. The boy was sure those men knew that his father was a shallow liar, and he could not understand why they should put up with him.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. *The guest as a measure of family status.*

A family has status only in comparison with the status of others. Small children are often well insulated from the recognition of their family's standing by a lack of that comparison. But sometimes, the guest serves to reveal the family's place, socially, religiously, or morally.

The daughter of a well-to-do Russian

<sup>2</sup> Feeney, Leonard, *Survival Till Seventeen*, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1941, pp. 24-48.

<sup>3</sup> Nexo, Martin Anderson, *Under the Open Sky*, New York, Vanguard Press, 1938, pp. 107-108.

<sup>4</sup> Lynch, Hannah, *Autobiography of a Child*, New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Hughes, Vivian, *A London Child of the Seventies*, London, Oxford University Press, 1934, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Masters, Edgar Lee, *Across Spoon River*, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1936, p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Gerhardt, William, *Memoirs of a Polyglot*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, p. 49.

<sup>8</sup> Long, Augustus White, *Son of Carolina*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1939, 71-72.

<sup>9</sup> Sherwood Anderson's *Memoirs*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942, p. 45.



patriarch reveals that she did not know she was living in luxury, so accustomed to it was she. But on Christmas, when all the peasants from her father's estate came to be entertained and to receive gifts from him, the girl was given a picture of her family's position in that country.<sup>10</sup> A farm boy, though, tells of his resentment of the yearly visits of his town aunts, because they let it be seen that their sister had married beneath her. He disliked to see his mother put on airs for them, and then become subdued in spirit before their superiority.<sup>11</sup>

A successful novelist recalls her family's ups and downs in status as reflected by guests and lack of guests. Her father, who had a succession of wives and mistresses, lived in a very "respectable" suburb, and no one came to call. The children knew why. But Father finally took in, without benefit of certificate, a woman who looked "respectable." Guests began to arrive, and with them the consciousness of a new family status.<sup>12</sup>

It was through the chance remark of a thoughtless guest that Kathleen Coyle learned the secret, hitherto carefully kept from her, that her father was in an institution.<sup>13</sup>

A doctor, whose Catholic mother had married a Protestant, learned that there was something unusual about his family, because the two sets of in-laws alternated visits, each trying to salvage the souls of the children of such a marriage.<sup>14</sup>

3. *The guest may extend the horizon of beliefs and customs.* Most young children seem to be strongly convicted of the belief that there is only one true religious faith, one honest political party, one right code of ethics, one "proper" way of doing a certain

things, and that people who believe and do differently are not themselves "proper." Often, this is not so much the result of personal smugness or of deliberate parental indoctrination, as it is of a lack of intimacy with people whose beliefs and customs are unlike their own. The guest who is accepted by parents as a "proper" person often discloses to the children in his visits a point of view different from, or directly opposite to, those the family entertains. Sometimes the children are very much shocked by these revelations, but nevertheless they come to see that people they know and like act differently and hold views different from theirs.

Pierre van Paassen says he was introduced to matzoth when a Jewish woman brought some to his family on Passover. Pierre's mother was distressed that she could not return the favor by sending back some of her own fresh-baked cookies. But, she explained, the Jewish friends would not eat food prepared in a non-Jewish home. That, surely, was a puzzle to figure out.<sup>15</sup> One man tells of how, as a boy, he watched the clergyman who had stopped in for the habitual family prayer period. It was a highly conventionalized observance. Each member of the family took a chair and, kneeling down, leaned against the seat of it, while going through the form of prayer. This clergyman simply dropped to his knees, without any support at all—an amazing procedure. But what struck the boy even more forcibly was that to the reverend gentleman prayer seemed "real." With the family it had become just a form.<sup>16</sup>

In the realm of politics, one author was shocked, as a youth, by the visit to his Liberal household of a lady who shouted Tory principles and thought Mr. Gladstone "a dreadful man."<sup>17</sup> And Julian Green reports that his charming young cousin, who was a loyal Southerner but who did not take her politics so seriously as did Julian's

<sup>10</sup> Radziwill, Princess Catherine, *It Really Happened*, New York, Dial Press, Inc., 1932, pp. 28-29.

<sup>11</sup> Cole, Cyrenus, *I Remember, I Remember*, Iowa, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1936, 67-69.

<sup>12</sup> Wylie, I. A. R., *My Life With George*, New York, Random House, 1940, p. 74 and 81.

<sup>13</sup> Coyle, Kathleen, *The Magical Realm*, New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1943, pp. 167-169.

<sup>14</sup> Aughinbaugh, William E., *I Swear By Apollo*, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1938, pp. 6-8.

<sup>15</sup> Van Paassen, Pierre, *Days of Our Years*, New York, Nillman-Curl, Inc., 1939, pp. 24-25.

<sup>16</sup> Housman, Lawrence, *The Unexpected Years*, New York, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1936, p. 35.

<sup>17</sup> Baring, Maurice, *The Puppet Show of Memory*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1922, p. 15.

family, nearly brought on a family crisis when she started to play on the piano the hated song, "Marching Through Georgia."<sup>18</sup>

At home, Norman Hapgood had always heard people divided into the categories "selfish" and "unselfish," and had never thought to tamper with that division. A visitor remarked that self-seeking was by no means always bad. It could as often be right as wrong. Norman wrote of that experience as his first lesson in relativity, and he believed it had some influence on his later career.<sup>19</sup>

Two of the autobiographers learned something about relative morality from guests in their home. The young aunt of one of them had been sold to a house of ill-fame, and the boy met her for the first time when she came to his home after she had been rescued. He had not expected to find her what she was: a pretty, merry girl, always singing. He wrote, "I began to understand that not everything in life was so dreadful as it seems at first until one knows."<sup>20</sup> The other writer, who learned a similar lesson, came to admire a woman who "couldn't say no," but who was generous, cheerful and self-sacrificing, and whom no one could really consider as bad.<sup>21</sup>

4. *The guest as a measure of the consistency of adults in precept and practice.* Children often have the opportunity to observe in the privacy of the family circle that parents do not always practice what they preach. But the social gathering together of adults can increase the opportunity for such observations, when those adults are being companionable or convivial, and forgetful of the penetrating scrutiny of the younger generation. In both morals and manners, guests revealed adult inconsistencies to the authors of the autobiographies.

A parson kept visiting the home of one writer to try to convert the father who never went to church. The son noticed that,

though the parson's efforts were unsuccessful, he consumed gallons of good rye while making them.<sup>22</sup> And Vivian Hughes tells of the vicar's wife, who, accepting her hostess' complaint about the dullness of the vicar's sermons, suggested, within hearing of the child, that her hostess "meditate instead of listening. That's what I do."<sup>23</sup> Wasn't that practically heresy?

An actor's daughter writes of the night that she was awakened by the noise of a party, got out of bed and slipped in amongst the guests unnoticed. Beer and rye were abundant. Her family members were dressed in their wrappers. A man was holding Mama's hand. Another was trying to kiss Nana, a favorite aunt. He was "nosing" into the lace cascade on the front of her wrapper.<sup>24</sup> A guest in another home was remembered because he tried to get into the room of the servant girl in the middle of the night. Next morning he said that though he prayed to resist adultery, the Lord always put fresh temptation in his way. The youngster thought that this was "passing the buck" in a very strange way.<sup>25</sup>

One autobiography tells of a boy watching a series of scenes between the Jewish stepfather-in-law and his mother. The man, who came to visit, had to have his food prepared in the orthodox manner, making a lot of trouble for the lady of the house. After a time, he suspected that the lady was only *pretending* to prepare his food properly. The youngster knew that these suspicions were correct. His mother was only pretending.<sup>26</sup>

The manners of other guests did not live up to the standards which adults said they required. Writers mentioned one who belched frequently behind his hand at table,<sup>27</sup> and another, who, when a child played the piano

<sup>18</sup> Miller, C. Blackburn, *Hudson Valley Squire*, New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1941, p. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Hughes, Vivian, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>20</sup> Bernstein, Aline, *An Actor's Daughter*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1941, pp. 142-149 and 108-110.

<sup>21</sup> Van Paassen, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>22</sup> Cournos, John, *Autobiography*, New York, E. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935, pp. 28-30.

<sup>23</sup> Petrova, Olga, *Butter With My Bread*, New York, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1942, p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> Green, Julian, *Memories of Happy Days*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1942, pp. 25-28.

<sup>19</sup> Hapgood, Norman, *The Changing Years*, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1930, pp. 17-19.

<sup>20</sup> Chaliapine, Feodor, Ivanovitch, *Pages From My Life*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1927, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Ellis Anne, *The Life of an Ordinary Woman*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929, p. 58.

for him, shouted that that girl could not play and never would be able to.<sup>28</sup> Neither guest was reproached for his behavior. It was accepted by the other adults. But it was not the kind of behavior adults would tolerate in children.

5. *The guest as a medium for teaching certain rules of social behavior.* In the informal atmosphere of the family, a considerable laxity of manners and wide choice of conversation topics are permitted that are not suffered outside the family circle. A mother can hardly anticipate for her young child *all* of these differences. Yet, most children somehow attain that knowledge by the time they reach their early teens. One of the roles of the guest seems to be to help clarify for the child what is, and what is not, expected in "polite society" in his own particular social rank. Sometimes, dismissal from the scene, because of the parents' inability to cope with the situation before guests, marks the lesson indelibly. Also, pre-guest harangues between parents who do not approve of each other's behavior before guests make children particularly keen to see who will win out when the guest does arrive. Autobiographers describe instances of all these kinds of lessons on how to behave when an outsider joins the family.

Differences in table manners were expected when guests were present. Frazier Hunt writes that his uncle, in whose home he lived, liked to eat his pie from the same plate on which his meat and vegetables had been. It tasted better that way. Frazier's aunt did not approve, and let it be known. But Uncle would not be intimidated; that is, not until visitors came to dinner. Then he had to make a concession.<sup>29</sup> Grand Duchess Marie, when a little girl, found that when there was a visitor she could not take any part in the conversation, but could only answer questions when asked them. She had to sit, between courses, with the tips of her fingers on the edge of the table, and if she forgot she was reprimanded.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Lee, Jennie, *This Great Journey*, New York, Farrar Rinehart, Inc., 1942, pp. 37-41.

<sup>29</sup> Hunt, Frazier, *One American*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1938, pp. 7-8.

<sup>30</sup> Marie, Grand Duchess of Russia, *Education of a Princess*, New York, Viking Press, 1931, p. 36.

A number of writers remembered being sent from the room for behavior which they had not known would get them into trouble. One, when a little boy, was absorbed in listening to some breezy gossip of his mother's when the vicar came to call. He waited patiently for the vicar to be welcomed and seated and then asked his mother to go on with the story about. . . . He was promptly sent upstairs.<sup>31</sup> Another, when a small child, found her baby chamber-pot hidden away in a closet. She was ecstatic over finding her old friend and thought that her mother and the luncheon guests would be too. So she ran into the room and displayed it. Her mother fainted, and the girl was banished to the attic.<sup>32</sup> A third tells of hearing the cook say that if the vicar came to tea much oftener he would eat Auntie out of house and home. The girl thought the vicar ought to know, so she told him. But she was sent to bed without any supper.<sup>33</sup> The impressions made by these experiences were deep and long-lived. They probably brought the dawning of the consciousness of conversational taboos.

6. *The guest may change normal family regimen and occasion special privileges for the children.* Some of the authors remembered how enchanted they had been with the changes in usual family regimen when guests came. The "room," a parlor-bedroom, was used in the daytime only when guests came; special company cups and saucers were used instead of the usual dinner-ware; a beautiful white tablecloth was put on the table instead of the red-checked one used for the family. "Company towels" instead of meal sacks, "company soap" instead of the yellow kind "company tissue" instead of leaves from a mail-order catalogue—all were exciting differences in home life when a guest came.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Finger, Charles, *Seven Horizons*, New York, Doubleday, Doran, Company, Inc., 1930, pp. 10-11.

<sup>32</sup> Millar, Mara, *Hail to Yesterday*, as told to Page Cooper, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941, pp. 22-23.

<sup>33</sup> Gilder, Jeanette, *The Autobiography of a Tomboy*, New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1901, p. 91.

<sup>34</sup> Hunt, Frazier, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9; Hurston, Zora Neale, *Dust Tracks On A Road*, New York, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942, p. 34; McClure, S. S.

But personal privileges were even more interesting. When Paderewski came to call, the children in one of the author's homes were allowed to come downstairs to hear him play.<sup>35</sup> Another musician's visits permitted André Gide to sit up long past his usually inflexible bedtime so that he could hear the concert.<sup>36</sup> David Fairchild writes that his father did not approve of Dickens, but could not protest when a guest read *David Copperfield* to the young man of the house, who always remembered that wonderful novel.<sup>37</sup> Walter Damrosch recalls Taussig's visits, particularly because of the delicious apple pudding which Mrs. Damrosch made for him.<sup>38</sup> A longed-for trip to Calais, which had never been permitted, was attained by one of the authors when he asked his parents for permission in the presence of a guest, who beat the parents to the answer and said, "Why not?"<sup>39</sup> These were marked high spots in the family-guest life of the writers.

7. *Guests, through their discussions with each other and with parents, during visits, may be an intellectual stimulus to children.* A common observation in the autobiographies is that the writers, as children, loved to listen to the conversations of their grown-up guests, and were stimulated by them. The exact kind of stimulus depended upon the kinds of people entertained and the kind of entertainment offered in the home.

In the homes represented here, there were five noticeably different habitual ways of entertaining guests

First, there was the home in which the adults sat in a group and indulged in aimless gossip and in telling anecdotes. Here the children were keen to know the latest tales about

people whom they knew. They struggled to keep well posted. Also, they loved to hear any simple anecdotes and remembered many of them.

Second, there was the home in which guests were entertained by cards, games, and stunts. Several writers mentioned their own prowess in beating guests at the games played. Conversation was restricted in these visits, but one writer tells that she was proud of entering into the spirit of the games her father's friends played, and when Mr. Fitch won a hard hand, she called out, "Good for you, Fitch!" much to the amusement of the men who thought it a spontaneous remark. It was, instead, well calculated to produce just the effect it did produce.<sup>40</sup>

A third type of entertainment was of a very formal sort: formal teas, dinners and balls. Conversation here was broken up into little groups. The children were stimulated by the sense of rank, by social finesse, by styles of dress, by grace in dancing, and by personal popularity.

A fourth kind of entertainment was mentioned by two of the authors.<sup>41</sup> Both had come from peasant homes across the sea. In these homes the villagers all gathered together, while the old men of the village told stories: either folk tales, or historical accounts of the country. These youngsters, listening as they sat on the floor of their homes, looked up to the wisdom of the old men, and knew their country's past.

The fifth kind of entertainment was give-and-take discussion between intellectuals on topics of mutual interest, particularly the arts and sciences and current events. It is not surprising that this type of entertainment was greatly in the majority in homes of boys and girls who grew up to write their autobiographies. Some comments, direct from the authors, are worthy of quotation "They [my parents] were rewarded . . . by many delightful friendships. Thinkers, writers, and travelers gathered about them. We children were fascinated by discussions, often over our

<sup>35</sup> Gilder, Jeanette, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>36</sup> Chaliapine, *op. cit.*, p. 3; and Pupin, Michael, *From Immigrant to Inventor*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926, pp. 5-7.

*My Autobiography*, New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1914, pp. 5-6.

<sup>37</sup> Ellsworth, Lincoln, *Beyond Horizons*, New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1938, pp. 9-11.

<sup>38</sup> Gide, André, *If It Die*, New York, Random House, 1935, tr. by Dorothy Bussey, pp. 63-65.

<sup>39</sup> Fairchild, David, *The World Was My Garden*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938, p. 15.

<sup>40</sup> Damrosch, Walter, *My Musical Life*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Aldington, Richard, *Life For Life's Sake*, New York, The Viking Press, 1941, p. 32.



heads, which went on in such assemblages."<sup>42</sup> "The literary and artistic life of the city, rich and poor, was represented [in our guests]. . . . The gaiety and the wit, and the degree to which the conversation represented the pulse of the times, made me discontented with anything less in my adult years."<sup>43</sup> "My mother's company and conversation as the years went by were necessarily a stimulation to any intelligence I possessed, and I think it made me precocious in one or two ways. one of them was the very strong interest that I took in all sorts of people."<sup>44</sup>

8. *The guest may produce conflicts and increase family tensions.* Often members of the family disagree in their estimates of a guest, or of the guest's behavior. In some cases, in the guest-narratives, these differences became acute and caused family conflict.

Harriet Munroe used to enjoy watching the games of the men who came to play cards with her father. But her mother did not approve of these people who filled the house with smoke and required spittoons. The poet writes that she noticed when the men came less and less often; and that finally her father went out in the evenings to the home of a widower, instead of bringing his guests home.<sup>45</sup>

Two of the authors tell of their jealousy of the men who came to visit their mothers. The boy was sullen and angry.<sup>46</sup> The girl decided upon action and told her mother's suitor that it was time to go home. Her mother was cross and scolded the child, who was, then, doubly hurt.<sup>47</sup> Another writer reports that when he was a very little boy he was upset by the elegant reception accorded

two royal gentlemen who came to see his father. He much preferred the cook and the gamekeeper, who usually visited them. He slapped one of the gentlemen in the face and was annoyed by the over-solicitous attitude of his parents in the gentleman's behalf.<sup>48</sup>

9. *The guest may unite the family in a mild conspiracy against him.* The family often has a heightened sense of solidarity in the presence of an outsider, but at times circumstances make the family members more like fellow conspirators.

Vivian Hughes tells of the time a guest came to call in the afternoon. She stayed and stayed. Her hostesses grew uneasy. Finally, Vivian's mother rose and said that though she liked to sit in the dusk without lights, she hardly expected her guest to share that enthusiasm. The guest chuckled and left. Vivian and her mother turned to each other, smiled and relaxed. The gas company had turned off the supply of gas, and the lights *could* not be lighted.<sup>49</sup>

The young man who always brought useless gifts to the family, necessitating a written thank-you note;<sup>50</sup> the uncle who always wanted to help, but who instead got in the way of everyone;<sup>51</sup> the pastor who invariably turned up on housecleaning day;<sup>52</sup> the members of the clergyman's congregation who felt free to drop in at any time to comment upon the behavior of the clergyman's children;<sup>53</sup> the man who *would* appear just at mealtime—all of these inspired in the families of the writers the same feeling of conspiracy against them that drew the family members, for a time and an occasion, closer together.

10. *The guest may be a source of anecdotes and cue-words that become a part of any family's common heritage.* W. B. Max-

<sup>42</sup> Sessions, Ruth Huntington, *Sixty-Odd*, Brattleboro, Vermont, Stephen Daye Press, 1936, p. 16.

<sup>43</sup> Peattie, Roderick, *The Incurable Romantic*, New York, Macmillan Company, 1941, p. 40.

<sup>44</sup> Maxwell, W. B., *Time Gathered*, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938, p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> Munroe, Harriet, *A Poet's Life*, New York, Macmillan Company, 1938, p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> Lania, Leo, *Today We Are Brothers*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942, p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> Harrison, Marguerite, *There's Always Tomorrow*, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1935, p. 32.

<sup>48</sup> Fisher, H. A. L., *An Unfinished Autobiography*, London, Oxford University Press, 1940, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Hughes, Vivian, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>51</sup> Lagerlöf, Selma, *Memories of My Childhood*, New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1934, Tr. by Velma Swameton Howard, pp. 181-184.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149-152.

<sup>53</sup> Rice, John Andrew, *I Came Out of the Eighteenth Century*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1942, pp. 45-46.

well's family had a word all their own. They would say, "May I Bynge you?" or would speak of being "Bynged." To outsiders it was just nonsense, but to the Maxwells, it was full of meaning. It was coined from the name of a man, Mr. Bynge, who often stayed through the dinner hour but would not share the family meal; and therefore sat in a corner and watched every mouthful his hosts ate, until the custom became annoying. Mr. Maxwell says that his own children use this word, knowing its connotation, but probably having no idea whence came the word.<sup>54</sup> Cue-words like this, that have no meaning to others, but which instantly recall to the minds of the family members some commonly-shared experience, are rich possessions of family life. Guests, at least those in the homes of autobiographers, seem to supply a good share of such words.

The words "Sniff, Sniff, Sniffin" sent the Carter family into raucous laughter. They recalled the fact that Mrs. Carter could never remember the names of the men her husband brought home. She had to supply herself with some associated word, and then usually made an awful mistake when she addressed the guest. But when Mr. Sniffin was about to call, the cry "Sniff, Sniff, Sniffin" caused a crisis of irrepressible childish chuckles at table, that wrote the words down in family history.<sup>55</sup>

"Most appropriate, most appropriate" became part of the heritage of one family, recalling those words which a visitor always used in reference to a dessert called "Poor Man's Pudding," which he was served at table.<sup>56</sup> And, "I'll try a little goose" invariably afforded a family laugh in a home where the clergyman answered thus, even after having already had five or six servings of the goose.<sup>57</sup> These words from childhood have been remembered by grown men and women, and included in their life stories as

cues to the recall of cherished experiences shared in family life.

## V

Limitations of space permit only passing mention of other noticed results of guest experiences to autobiographers, such as: (a) a sympathetic attitude toward another race, or minority group, gained through the visit of a member of that group to the home; (b) hospitality-training; (c) lessons in character- and personality-analysis in after guest family discussions; (d) direct influence upon a child's choice of career because of admiration for, or help from, a guest. Though these results were of less concern to the family as a whole than were those discussed above, they were of marked importance to the child in his own development.

## VI

### A FURTHER NOTE ON THE USE OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

In view of other discussions of the use of autobiographical material in the study of behavior and personality development, further comment suggested by its use in the present study may be in order. Four distinct values seem to inhere in this specific experience.

First, it has a "prospector" value, that is to say, it may be used to reveal the presence of "ore," which obviously is the first step in mining and refining it. In the present study, it will be recalled that 117 out of the 200 authors referred to the role of the guest. Two hundred and thirty-two times these writers chose to delineate moments of entertaining at home as moments of consequence in their early family histories. This certainly would serve to indicate that here is a subject significant enough to deserve further study. Not only the presence but also the richness of the "ore" is implied in these facts.

Second, the use of autobiographical material in the present study suggests specific leads for investigation, and it does so in two ways. In the first place, the authors mention a wide variation of influence, ranging all the way from the bringing out of the best linen tablecloth to the eruption of serious conflict

<sup>54</sup> Maxwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-27.

<sup>55</sup> Carter, John Franklin, *The Rectory Family*, New York, Coward-McCann, Inc., 1937, pp. 69-75.

<sup>56</sup> Howe, M. A. De Wolfe, *A Venture in Remembrance*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1941, p. 28.

<sup>57</sup> Leslie, Shane, *The Film of Memory*, London, Michael Joseph, Limited, 1938, p. 23.

between parent and child. In the second place, the kinds of experiences remembered during the visits of guests were common to many of the authors, so that they could be grouped in different categories according to their special kind of influence. In other words, this reveals preponderances, or areas of concentration.

Third, it is highly significant that all this information is derived from sources unrelated to the present study, and compiled without reference to the particular interests of the present project. There was no organized research unit which suggested the subject of guests or their role in personality development to the authors of these autobiographies. The information furnished in this sense is then both objective and spontaneous. For the uses indicated above, this makes it particularly valuable.

A fourth possible value is that the persons furnishing the autobiographical case mate-

rial, for the most part, have some experience and facility in the expression of their views. They write well, and verbalize readily, at least in comparison with persons not so trained, from whom most material bearing upon behavior problems must be secured. Furthermore, they have experience in thinking through the processes of human development, and expressing them effectively, which is one of the basic requirements in writing an acceptable autobiography. It must be admitted that this involves also a possible defect, so far as the possible scientific value of the material is concerned, resulting from a striving for effective expression, possibly at the risk of truthfulness. In writing up human material, there is at times the temptation to add "the fictional touch." By way of defense, it might be said that this would be less true in recalling childhood impressions of family guests than in certain other obvious areas of life.

## TRANSITIONAL ADJUSTMENTS OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN FAMILIES TO RELOCATION\*

LEONARD BLOOM

*University of California, Los Angeles*

IN THIS paper I shall sketch one time segment of an adjustment history. An earlier paper in the *Review*<sup>1</sup> surveyed the background of the problem and indicated the methodological and circumstantial justifications for orienting the study to an examination of the familial complex. The period to be discussed here begins with the establishment of the population in relocation centers which was completed on November 1, 1942, eleven months after Pearl Harbor and seven months after the evacuation began. It ends in January 1945 with the opening of the Pacific Coast to relocation. Subse-

quent events will merely be touched upon.

The data upon which this study is based are chiefly of two sorts. The first is a structural analysis of the records of 3000 families, one tenth of those registered at the time of evacuation. Seventy per cent of these family records were extensively supplemented in the field from the files of the War Relocation Authority, and provide the quantitative documentation. The main classifications are six structural categories of family units or individuals which are sub-classified by nativity (Table I). Quantitative judgments are made within this framework and the differential adjustments of each type have been analyzed. It is possible in a journal article only to point out the modal forms of adjustment. The second type of data comprises some one hundred histories of Japanese-American families equated with the structural types. Insights and the overtones of

\*An expanded version of the paper read at the meeting of the American Sociological Society, Cleveland, March 1-3, 1946.

<sup>1</sup>Leonard Bloom, "Familial Adjustments of Japanese-Americans to Relocation: First Phase," *American Sociological Review* 8 (October, 1943), 551-560.

TABLE I. STRUCTURAL CATEGORIES OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN FAMILIES

Family type <sup>1</sup>	Number <sup>2</sup>	%
Total.....	2170	100.0
Individuals.....	442	20.4
Issei.....	302	13.9
Nisei.....	66	3.0
Kibei.....	74	3.4
Complete couples.....	245	11.3
Issei-Issei.....	110	5.1
Nisei-Nisei.....	61	2.8
Kibei-Kibei.....	18	0.8
Issei-Nisei.....	20	0.9
Issei-Kibei.....	11	0.5
Nisei-Kibei.....	25	1.2
Incomplete couples.....	224	10.3
Female absent.....	206	9.5
Male absent.....	18	0.8
Complete primary families.....	946	43.6
Issei parents.....	627	28.9
Nisei parents.....	68	3.1
Kibei parents.....	31	1.4
Issei-Nisei parents.....	97	4.5
Issei-Kibei parents.....	81	3.7
Nisei-Kibei parents.....	42	1.9
Incomplete primary families.....	285	13.2
Issei parents.....	86	4.0
Issei father—mother unknown.....	77	3.5
Issei mother—father unknown.....	122	5.6
Sibling groups.....	28	1.3

<sup>1</sup> Classified according to composition of the primary family group at the time of registration for evacuation. Extensions of the family and nonrelated members of the household have been ignored here to avoid excessive complication. Individuals were single persons living apart from parents. Couples were married persons without children in the household group. Primary families were married persons with children. Sibling groups had no parent present. Incomplete couples and incomplete primary families lacked one spouse in the household group due to death, divorce, residence in Japan or elsewhere, internment, etc.

Issei are first-generation, born in Japan; nisei are second-generation, born in the U. S.; kibei are second-generation, born in the U. S., but having at least 5 years of education in Japan before age 18. With incomplete couples and incomplete primary families, the generation of the absent spouse may be unknown.

adjustments and relationships are derived from these histories.

For the most part we shall be discussing a history of impacts and of reactions to those impacts. During a period of more than three years the population was working out a set of adjustments to an institutional environment.<sup>2</sup> Within the limits of the WRA plan some of the elements of free choice and some of the fictions of individual responsibility were maintained. Freedom was circumscribed, however, by guard towers and fences which were reinforced by elaborate administrative detail, so that even with the best of objectives and counseling the barriers to relocation would have been strong. Furthermore, the centers were isolated in geographical environments sharply contrasting with those the evacuees had known. Thus it was doubly difficult to reify a world outside of the camp in which one might live.

Authority, of course, she was vested in the administration and all "Japanese" were subordinate to all "Caucasians." WRA recognized the invidious connotation of the term "Caucasian" and attempted to erase the implication of caste by requiring use of the official designation "Appointed Personnel." But the residents never ceased calling the A.P.'s *hakujins* (white people), for caste definitions have their reciprocals. The wages received by the evacuee workers were hardly more than token payments. The top wage of \$19 per month for professionals, many of whom were better qualified than A.P.'s, reinforced the status differentiation. The power system within which familial authority was

<sup>2</sup> Leonard Bloom, "Prisonization and the WRA Camps," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1944, pp. 29-34 (*Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society 1943*).

<sup>3</sup> The original 10% random sample from the War-time Civil Control Administration's Social Data Registration form, which was filled out at the time of evacuation, totalled 3034 family groups. We were able to trace 2170 or 71.5% of these through War Relocation Authority records through January 1, 1945. A disproportionate number of the 28.5% unaccounted for were in Poston Relocation Center. In regard to relocation and segregation the omissions do not affect our interpretations.



exercised and familial adjustments were worked out was very constricted and there was ample cause for deflected aggression.

Within the institutionalized system a regression took place which retarded the acculturation of Japanese-Americans by a generation. Sansei (third-generation) children, who otherwise would have known little Japanese, now speak faulty Japanese. The younger nisei (second-generation), among the most ardent apprentices of American society, seriously felt the loss of the multitude of associations they would have had. The influence of the issei (first-generation) was greatly increased and they frequently displaced their children in caring for grandchildren.

Two factors reduced the effectiveness of adjustments to the outside: a retardation or reversal of the acculturation process, and the pattern of institutionalization.

I have commented elsewhere on the effect of barracks existence on interpersonal relationships and familial solidarity. Several of my informants, both issei and nisei, have suggested that the tensions initiated in crowded quarters underlie many subsequent separations and eventual divorces.

The problems with which the population was confronted made the whole history of relocation a continuous series of conferences, of choices, and of unresolved tensions. The most important of these pertained to the question of leaving the center. Seasonal leaves were a disorganizing influence for many families. As early as the harvest season of 1942, eight or nine thousand persons, predominantly males, left the centers temporarily for farm work.<sup>3</sup> The motivations were chiefly financial; there was a strong appeal to patriotism; and the workers were afforded an escape from the torpor of center life. Like the cases of rationalized family desertion that are to be found among Army enlistments, it also provided a ruse for escaping maladjusted familial or other social situations. The unaccustomed mobility superimposed on the tensions of barracks life were

disruptive to the most highly integrated families. Unfortunately the available data on separations are unreliable. One can only venture the opinion that a considerable number of later divorces derive in part from seasonal or other leaves. The cleavage of distance would have the effect of structuring whatever alienation might exist so that the hazards to dual solidarity greatly increased. These separations are quite analogous to those characteristic of war, but were relatively far more numerous.

The pattern of cleavage may be illustrated by reference to case T-2, a nisei couple. They married in 1939, at which time the husband was 25 and the wife 19. He was a gardener in Los Angeles. A son was born in mid-1941. There was no history of marital discord and the union had the appearance of stability reinforced by the young son, although the marriage lacked the usual supporting conservatism of issei familial associations. The husband's parents and the wife's father had died and the wife did not associate closely with her mother. Soon after moving to the relocation center, the husband left camp to do agricultural labor, and for the next two and one-half years he repeatedly took seasonal leaves in order to work. While in camp he was occupied at various jobs, and it was clear that he took his financial responsibilities very seriously. Throughout this period his wife devoted herself to the care of their child, a solitary role which probably did not satisfy her ego needs. During one period in 1944 when her husband was on leave, she turned the care of her child over to her mother and accepted a job in the center. Her companionship with a working associate became the subject of gossip, and upon his return her husband demanded that she give up her work and the association. She refused to do this and the situation remained unresolved at the time the husband left camp for Los Angeles in the Spring of 1945. Instead of going to Los Angeles after he found work and housing, as they had planned, she deserted him and sued for divorce.

Like the seasonal leaves, leaves for educational purposes were initiated in the first

<sup>3</sup> WRA *Quarterly Report*, October 1-December 31, 1942, p. 10.

phase of evacuation. On the other hand, they were not disorganizing and presented, rather, an exaggeration of a customary form of adjustment. Before the war, nisei, although successful and well adjusted, formed enclaves within Pacific Coast colleges and universities. The chief difference in the wartime situation was that the students lived away from their parents. This is one of the atypical instances in which the effect of evacuation was to counteract segregative forces, however briefly.

In February 1943 enlistments of Japanese-Americans were accepted by the Army for a special combat team. Despite the fact that the enlistment was for an especially hazardous purpose and the normal Selective Service procedures were not operating, more than 1200 nisei volunteered.<sup>4</sup> This was a remarkable record in view of the bitterness which pervaded the camps because of discriminatory patterns, and especially the resentment of those former members of the armed forces who had been discharged at the convenience of the government and the doubtful discretion of their commanding officers. Most of these enlistments were in opposition to parental attitudes, just as they were in the population in general. At the time there was no community reward for the parents of volunteers, so that their be-  
reavement was not tempered by ego values. Unfortunately induction of volunteers was deferred several months and as a consequence tensions were heightened rather than diminished. Some time later when the men were acquitting themselves brilliantly in combat and Selective Service was in operation, parental pride and community support were greatly increased. Both of these were reinforced by a more favorable press which identified the continental nisei, who later formed the 442nd Combat Team, with the Hawaiian 100th Battalion.

The generalizations which have been made regarding volunteers are illustrated in case M-4. The issei father of the family was interned until mid-1944. Despite this fact his

eldest son volunteered in February 1943 and left for training two months later. His mother asserted with some pride that it was *bushido* (code of the warrior) for the boy to volunteer and neither she nor the boy felt that the father's internment should have been considered a deterrent. Any feelings of doubt that Mr. M. may have had were well repressed and rationalized. Mrs. M was the object of much criticism from her neighbors and friends, although the direct attacks were made chiefly by men. The women would congregate in the latrines and laundry room and talk to each other about her son in Mrs. M's hearing. But Mrs. M seemed to be the object of aggression rather than the boy. The women would wonder aloud why she had permitted her son to volunteer when Mr. M had been interned without reason. The tension was increased late in 1943 when a younger daughter volunteered for the WACs. Now not only had two members of the M family volunteered, but a daughter was behaving in an improper fashion. Mrs. M, who had been regularly attending religious meetings, stopped going in the face of the heightened criticism. She did actively defend her position, however, and argued with her friends even in public places, insisting that the spirit of *yamato damashi* (the Japanese spirit) required that a citizen loyally perform his duties. In the internment camp Mr. M also was harshly criticized. They told him that his daughter was a *jo-lo* (prostitute).

A clear test case for familial solidarity was the segregation of loyal from nominally disloyal Japanese-Americans which followed the ill-conceived Army Registration and Leave Clearance "loyalty" questionnaire. The problem lends itself to statistical analysis and for economy of space details are presented in tabular form (Table II). Of our sample units 15.5 per cent had some member segregated to Tule Lake. If we analyze the composition of this segregated portion, we find the strongest demonstration of familial solidarity. In 82 per cent of the cases of married couples without children in which segregation was involved, both partners were segregated. Similarly in 92 per cent of

<sup>4</sup>WRA *Semi-Annual Report*, January 1-June 30, 1943, p. 10.

## ADJUSTMENTS OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN FAMILIES TO RELOCATION 205

TABLE II. SUMMARY OF SEGREGATION BY STRUCTURAL CATEGORIES OF FAMILIES

Family type <sup>1</sup>	Families with at least one member segregated		Complete families segregated	
	Number	% of each type <sup>2</sup>	Number	% of col. 1
Total .....	337	15.5	312	92.6
Individuals .....	75	17.0	74	98.7 <sup>4</sup>
Issei .....	43	14.2	42	97.7
Nisei .....	2	3.0	2	100.0
Kibei .....	30	40.5	30	100.0
Complete couples .....	33	13.5	27	81.8
Issei-Issei .....	16	14.5	10	62.5
Nisei-Nisei .....	0	0.0	0	—
Kibei-Kibei .....	8	44.5	8	100.0
Issei-Nisei .....	0	0.0	0	—
Issei-Kibei .....	1	9.1	1	100.0
Nisei-Kibei .....	8	32.0	8	100.0
Incomplete couples .....	43	19.2	43	100.0
Female absent .....	40	19.4	40	100.0
Male absent .....	3	16.7	3	100.0
Complete primary families .....	145	15.3	134	92.4
Issei parents .....	96	15.3	85	88.5
Nisei parents .....	4	5.9	4	100.0
Kibei parents .....	17	54.9	17	100.0
Issei-Nisei parents .....	7	7.2	7	100.0
Issei-Kibei parents .....	14	17.3	14	100.0
Nisei-Kibei parents .....	7	16.7	7	100.0
Incomplete primary families .....	37	13.0	30	81.1
Issei parents .....	7	8.1	5	71.4
Issei father—mother unknown .....	15	19.5	13	86.6
Issei mother—father unknown .....	15	12.3	12	80.0
Sibling groups .....	4	14.3	4	100.0
Combined groups: <sup>3</sup>				
Issei-Issei .....	119	14.5	100	84.0
Nisei-Nisei .....	4	3.1	4	100.0
Kibei-Kibei .....	25	51.0	25	100.0
Mixed nativity .....	37	13.4	37	100.0

<sup>1</sup> See footnote to Table I for explanation of categories.<sup>2</sup> See Table I for number of each type.<sup>3</sup> Omitting individuals and cases where generation not known.<sup>4</sup> Cases were classified according to structure at the time of evacuation. Structural changes in single person families, as when individuals married and when the spouse of incomplete couples returned from internment, account for percentages under 100% in column 4.

the cases of married couples with children, the complete unit was segregated. It is clear that the chief causative factor underlying this phenomenon is the Japanese evaluation of familial solidarity. Correlative with these findings is the movement of non-segregated cases out of Tule Lake. The family groups moved out as integral units, and complete families remained behind as segregants. As anticipated, the rate of segregation was highest among issei and kibeis (U. S. born, educated in Japan) and very low among all categories of nisei. Only 3 per cent of the nisei units were segregated. This makes doubly significant the fact that nisei children permitted themselves to be segregated with their parents.

It should be pointed out in passing that the rate of segregation was highest at the Tule Lake center, which contributed almost 50 per cent of its total (September 1943) population. In no other center did the rate of segregation exceed 25 per cent.<sup>5</sup> This illustrates the importance of the factor of inertia which more strongly conditioned the decisions of the evacuees than even the most powerful ideological considerations. It also demonstrates the tragic error which WRA made in using a populated center to house segregated persons.

Some of the factors operating in segregation may be illustrated by case K-2, a family of fairly well assimilated issei parents who had worked as domestics, a kibeis son, and a younger nisei daughter. In this case the family's decisions derives from the answer made by the kibeis son to the "loyalty" questionnaire. It is clear both in this case and in many others that the subsequent steps of alienation (responses to leave clearance board, segregation, request for expatriation or repatriation, and renunciation of American citizenship) were actually secondary decisions and that the real break was made in the responses, perhaps of only one family member, to the "loyalty" question-

naire. Sociologists, aware of the limitations of the most carefully constructed questionnaire for purely verbal manipulations, will find it impossible to justify its use in directing the life course of a hundred thousand people. In the K family only the kibeis son refused to indicate loyalty to the United States. Having made himself vulnerable by his questionnaire response, he was subject to segregation when the program was initiated. It can be stated with assurance that had this factor not intervened, the rest of the family would not have gone to Tule Lake. The family decided, however, to accompany the son and volunteered to be segregated.

The other test situation for familial solidarity chosen concerns the process of selective relocation. The most important cleavage factor was the indefinite leave and a statistical summary of our findings is given in Table III. The indefinite leave became the central point of discussion and debate, not only for those who were seriously considering it, but for persons who decided early that they would remain in the camps until the end of the war or the closing of the centers, whichever was later. It was the subject of incessant debate and the source of a continuous flood of ugly rumors.

Nevertheless, by the beginning of August 1943 nearly 11,000 persons had left the camps on indefinite leave.<sup>6</sup> These were chiefly nisei. The number on indefinite leave increased slowly so that by the end of 1944 about 35,000 had gone out,<sup>7</sup> for the most part to the Midwest. This comprised about a third of the original population of the centers. About four-fifths of those on leave were nisei,<sup>8</sup> compared with the proportion of two-thirds nisei in the general population. Of our cases 74 per cent of nisei individuals had relocated, compared with 36 per cent of kibeis and less than 17 per cent of issei.

<sup>5</sup>WRA, *Weekly Leaves by Centers*, No. 12, August 7, 1943. (Based on Weekly Telegraphic Reports from Centers).

<sup>7</sup>WRA, *Weekly Leaves by Centers*, No. 85 (Revised), December 30, 1944.

<sup>8</sup>WRA, *Semi-Annual Report*, July 1-December 31, 1944, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup>WRA, *Semi-Annual Report* July 1-December 31, 1943, p. 35, and Western Defense Command, Civilian Affairs Division, Research Branch, *Tables* September 4, 1944.



## ADJUSTMENTS OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN FAMILIES TO RELOCATION 207

TABLE III. SUMMARY OF RELOCATION BY STRUCTURAL CATEGORIES OF FAMILIES

Family type <sup>1</sup>	Families with at least one member relocated by January 1, 1945		Complete families relocated by January 1, 1945	
	Number	% of each type <sup>2</sup>	Number	% of col. 1
Total.....	950	43.8	419	44.1
Individuals.....	127	28.7	121	95.2 <sup>3</sup>
Issei.....	51	16.9	49	96.1
Nisei.....	49	74.3	46	93.9
Kibei.....	27	36.5	26	96.3
Complete couples.....	90	36.8	68	75.5
Issei-Issei.....	16	14.5	12	75.0
Nisei-Nisei.....	44	72.1	31	70.4
Kibei-Kibei.....	4	22.2	3	75.0
Issei-Nisei.....	13	65.0	12	92.3
Issei-Kibei.....	3	27.3	3	100.0
Nisei-Kibei.....	10	40.0	7	70.0
Incomplete couples.....	40	17.9	39	97.5 <sup>3</sup>
Female absent.....	36	17.5	35	97.2
Male absent.....	4	22.2	4	100.0
Complete primary families.....	504	53.3	136	27.0
Issei parents.....	379	60.5	69	18.2
Nisei parents.....	48	70.6	26	54.2
Kibei parents.....	5	16.1	3	60.0
Issei-Nisei parents.....	41	42.3	25	61.0
Issei-Kibei parents.....	12	14.8	4	33.3
Nisei-Kibei parents.....	19	45.2	9	47.4
Incomplete primary families.....	173	60.6	45	26.0
Issei parents.....	49	57.0	5	10.2
Issei father—mother unknown.....	45	58.4	13	28.9
Issei mother—father unknown.....	79	64.8	27	34.2
Sibling groups.....	16	57.1	10	62.5

<sup>1</sup> See footnote to Table I for explanation of categories.<sup>2</sup> See Table I for number of each type.<sup>3</sup> Cases were classified according to structure at the time of evacuation. Structural changes in single person families, as when individuals married and when the absent spouse of incomplete couples returned from internment, account for percentages under 100% in column 4.

The relocation rate for nisei couples was correspondingly large. The same general phenomenon will be noted in the data on the relocation of complete units (Table III). Not until mid-August of 1945 did the total number of persons on leave exceed the num-

ber of those remaining in the centers.<sup>9</sup> If we take into account the necessarily low relocation rate of nisei children the record becomes

<sup>9</sup> WRA, *Net Absences on Leave by Center*, Weekly report No. 117, Week Ending August 11, 1945.

even more notable. A considerable part of this relocation was in tacit opposition to, if not in open defiance of, parental judgments. It is interesting that the Japanese family tradition of not relinquishing control over young women failed to affect materially the relocation rate of nisei girls. There was a tendency for married couples to venture relocation together, although for the sake of economy and to act as a scout, the husband frequently preceded the wife by a short period. For primary families the eldest child or the eldest male child most frequently acted as scout, a fact completely congruent with Japanese family attitudes. Almost no mothers went alone on indefinite leave, and almost invariably they were the last family members to leave the centers.

The following summary of the movements of one issei-nisei family concretely illustrates these generalizations. The W-1 family was a financially secure urban group established in a superior Japanese neighborhood. At the time of evacuation the issei father was a produce merchant in his late fifties, and the mother 10 years younger. The three nisei children, one girl and two boys, at that time were 21, 19 and 18 years old respectively. Only the daughter had attended college and the boys assisted the father when not in school. Shortly before evacuation the daughter married and the couple was evacuated with her parents. When the removal to relocation centers took place, however, they joined the husband's family rather than moving to the relocation center with her parental family. The sons left the centers on seasonal leave to do harvest work in Fall 1942. Both boys had a series of seasonal leaves, and in the Spring of 1943 the older relocated to Chicago. He was followed in the Fall by his younger brother. Meanwhile the daughter's husband left for Chicago in the Spring of 1943, and the daughter, now pregnant, secured a transfer to the camp in which her parents lived. Her child was born in the Fall of 1943 and the husband returned to camp for a short visit. The following Spring she joined her husband in Chicago where they lived until the Fall of 1945. Both of the brothers, unattached and without re-

sponsibilities, independently moved from job to job and place to place throughout their stay in the Midwest until in early 1945 the younger boy was inducted into the Army. The issei father left camp for the first time to take domestic work in an inter-mountain city in February 1945, and in June he was joined by his wife. They worked until the Fall when they returned to Los Angeles, and soon afterward their daughter and her family and the son not in the Army also returned. They re-established themselves in the home which they owned prior to evacuation.

Under the severe stresses involved in evacuation and relocation, there was no decline in the incidence of births. Through December 1944, 4601 births had been recorded at the centers,<sup>10</sup> a number in excess of pre-war crude birth rates. The age-structure of the population is changing rapidly, and unfortunately the data which would enable us to calculate refined birth rates have not yet been released. In an earlier article<sup>11</sup> we pointed out the acceleration of marriages during the period of evacuation, and it is probable that the net gain for the population is greater than would have normally occurred. The increased number of young children made relocation correspondingly more difficult.

When relocation was independent of parental plans, it must be assumed that the separations were wholly a shedding of filial responsibility. In general those who made the break were willing to leave their families as long as they felt that security was being provided in the center, and many would have been satisfied to see the arrangement continue indefinitely. But anything which shattered that conviction brought the nisei back. The best example of this is the situation which attended the closing of the

<sup>10</sup> WRA, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946, p. 138.

<sup>11</sup> Leonard Bloom, Ruth Riemer, and Carol Creedon, "Marriages of Japanese-Americans in Los Angeles County: A Statistical Study," *University of California Publications in Culture and Society* (1945) Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 1-24.

Jerome center in June 1944. When the news went out that the center was to close and its residents were to be redistributed among the other centers, many nisei on leave hurried back to assist their families. When other centers were closed, the WRA found it necessary to erect a scaffolding of rules to prevent incursions of persons on leave.<sup>12</sup> Visits of former residents were limited to cases of emergencies or to facilitate relocation. When the time table of closing dates was announced, the issei-nisei family groups that had been scattered began to draw themselves together again, a process which is still going on.

When the schedule of center closings was published in the summer of 1945—this was the end of voluntary relocation—half of the families, who had sent any members out were completely relocated.<sup>13</sup> This is not to imply that the families had reconstituted themselves as units, but the evidence from our intensive histories is that the process was well under way. Families whose mem-

bers had been widely dispersed were making plans to rejoin each other, frequently in their pre-war localities.

Today the re-establishment of Japanese-American family units is still going on in the old ghetto areas of the Pacific Coast and some new ones in the Midwest. The circumstances of crowding are often far worse than in the centers, and the maladjustment is compounded by vicious exploitation, especially in-group exploitation by Japanese-Americans in regard to housing. Many families face disaster in their impoverished condition. The solidarity of the Japanese-American family has been well demonstrated during the last four years. However, the nisei are now assuming the heavy burden of an aged issei population and a larger number of sansei. As a consequence, the structural integration of the Japanese-American family may well turn out to be quite disorganizing. The integrative tendencies reduce the freedom of movement and the capacity for independent choice and aggressive action of many younger persons who otherwise might be expected to make the most effective adjustments.

<sup>12</sup> WRA, *Manual Release* No. 158, December 18, 1944, Section 150.1.10.

<sup>13</sup> Based on our detailed analysis of relocation in four representative centers.

## OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



### STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

Preparations are now under way for the 1947 annual meeting of the Society. The tentative arrangements are to meet in New York City December 28-30. Specific plans will be announced at the earliest possible moment in order to facilitate the largest possible attendance on the part of the members.

One of the principal responsibilities of the President of the Society during his year in office is to guide the program of the annual meeting. I am now engaged in the preliminary stages of this task. It has occurred to me that this year is an appropriate time to review the progress that has been made in the major fields of sociological interest and in the discipline as a whole. With this in view I am considering inviting a number of members of our Society who have been particularly interested in one or another field of sociology to give us an account of the present state of knowledge in their respective fields of interest in the form of a comprehensive paper which will be circulated early in the year among their colleagues having a similar interest, with the object of inducing the latter to participate in a panel which would subject this field to rigorous analysis and clarify the problems and possibilities that exist. It is hoped that this will stimulate a larger proportion of members of the Society than has previously attended the various sessions, judging by the numbers circulating in the corridors, to participate in the official program.

Recognizing that the annual meeting should also offer ample opportunities for the presentation of the products of research during the year past and of the value of sessions on sociological research, I am considering the expansion of the sessions that have in the past been held for the purpose of presenting Contributed Papers. Perhaps if the opportunity offered in the past to advance graduate students to send in their papers to a committee for examination were expanded to include the total membership of the Society we could thereby offer a more effective forum to all sociologists who are carrying on significant research to obtain the benefit of discussing their problems with their colleagues.

Any suggestions on these tentative plans will be cordially welcome. Such suggestions, however, should reach me at the earliest possible moment so as to enable me to take up the final formulation of the program with the Administrative Committee of the Society.

LOUIS WIRTH

### ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL STATISTICS

The Committee on Social Statistics would like to elicit suggestions from the members of the Society which would enable the Committee to carry out its objectives more effectively. These objectives are the improvement of basic social statistics produced by federal, state, and local agencies that will enhance their value for social research, and to keep the membership of the Society informed of current and prospective innovations in the production of statistics which have potential utility for sociological research.

At present the Committee has members representing four fields of special interest to sociologists: population and vital statistics, labor force statistics, housing statistics, and education statistics. Additional members are to be appointed to represent other special fields.

The Committee would welcome any general suggestions from members, but is especially interested in expressions of two types:

- (1) Suggested additional special fields of social statistics that should have representation on the Committee;
- (2) Suggested specific improvements needed in any of the four special fields listed above (please make these as concrete and explicit as possible).

Suggestions should be addressed to the Secretary of the Committee, Dr. Margaret Jarman Hagood, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C., who will route them to the appropriate committee member or the Chairman. The Committee hopes that it can provide an effective way of channelling the expressed statistical needs of sociologists to the appropriate agencies.

P. K. WHELTON, *Chairman*



**PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY AND  
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

FIRST MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,  
DECEMBER 27, 1946

Minutes of the first meeting of the Executive Committee, December 27, 1946, 2:00 P.M., Stevens Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

Present were: Carl C. Taylor, chairman, Harry Alpert, Leonard Bloom for Calvin Schmid, Austin L. Porterfield, Stuart Queen, Conrad Taeuber, Louis Wirth. Also present: Robert C. Angell, Samuel Stouffer.

President Taylor appointed a resolutions committee consisting of Stuart Queen, Louis Wirth, Charles S. Johnson, E. W. Burgess, and Clyde Hart.

The reports of the Secretary-Treasurer and Managing Editor were received.

Voted to approve the actions taken by the Administration Committee since the last meeting of the Society as reported by the secretary.

Voted to reaffirm the action previously taken by the Executive Committee and to charge a registration fee of \$1 at this meeting of the Society.

Voted to elect E. W. Burgess as representative to the Social Science Research Council for the three year term ending in 1949.

Voted to elect Robert M. MacIver as representative to the American Council of Learned Societies for the four year term ending in 1950.

Voted to designate the secretary as permanent alternate delegate to the A.C.L.S.

Voted to elect Talcott Parsons as the Society's representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for the two year term ending in 1948.

Voted to approve the President's designation of Carl C. Zimmerman as the Society's representative at the December, 1946, meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Voted to elect G. Howland Shaw as the Society's representative to the American Prison Association.

After some discussion of the possible nominees for the position as Secretary-Treasurer and Managing Editor, President Taylor appointed a committee consisting of Stuart Queen, Samuel Stouffer, and Louis Wirth to canvass the situation and report back at the subsequent meeting of the committee.

Voted to approve the applications for emeritus membership from Jerome Dowd, Lucile Eaves, C. G. Dittmer, and William Kirk.

The reports of the representative to the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Prison Association, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science were received. Paul Landis, the representative to the Council on Human Relations reported that there had been no activity of the Council during the last year, but it is expected that the Council would again become active in the near future.

Mrs. Taeuber, the representative to the American Documentation Institute, reported that the statement of activities of the American Documentation Institute would become available from the Institute late in January and would then be transmitted to the Society.

Carl C. Taylor reported that the Committee on Relations with Latin American Sociologists had attempted to secure statements on developments in sociology in Latin American countries and to make this material available to other sociologists, preferably through presentation in the *Review*. After some discussion of the advisability of broadening the work of this committee to include sociologists in countries other than the Latin American group it was—

Voted that the incoming President appoint a committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries, and that this committee concern itself with significant developments in sociology in countries outside the United States and also with the possibilities of developing relationships between the Society and International Organizations.

The report of the Membership Committee was received with appreciation for and congratulations on the splendid work of that Committee and its success in increasing the membership of the Society.

Voted to accept with thanks the report of the Committee on Research. In the discussion, the importance of continuing the Annual Census of Research and possibly making it even more useful than it is now were stressed.

Carl C. Taylor reported that in accordance with action taken at the last meeting of the Society, he had appointed a committee to consider action which the Society might take concerning the proposed legislation for a National Science Foundation. The committee had met and asked Talcott Parsons to prepare a summary of the history of the legislation and particularly the issues relating to inclusion of the social sciences. That article was prepared and appears in the December issue of the *Review*.

Voted that the incoming President appoint a committee to consider problems relating to the National Science Foundation and related subjects, especially other forms of Federal aid to social science research.

The report of the Committee on Classification of Members was received.

Voted to amend the report by including professional service in sociology other than research teaching as qualifying experience.

Voted to amend the report by eliminating the classification of sustaining member and substituting for it the classification "Donor."

Voted to present the report as amended to the Society without recommendation and without prejudice. This transmission is to include the minority report which accompanied the report from the Committee.

Voted to defer action on a directory of the members of the Society but to establish in the membership files of the Society a listing which would show for each individual the highest degree achieved, the present position held and the institution, the official address and the mail address, if different from the official address. This information is also to be carried in the annual membership directory of the Society, the change becoming effective in 1948.

Voted that the 1947 meeting of the Society be held in the north east section of the United States and that the President and Secretary explore the possibility of arranging for joint meetings with other social science societies which will be meeting in the same area.

Voted that the 1947 meeting of the Society be held between Christmas and New Year.

Voted that the Secretary circularize the membership to secure an expression of interest in attending a meeting on the Pacific Coast in 1948 and the attitude of the members who would not be able to attend such a meeting to holding one in that area.

Voted to authorize the sale of surplus copies of back issues of the *Review* and *Proceedings* at \$1 per volume for the *Review* and 25¢ per issue for single issues of the *Review* or of the *Proceedings*.

Voted to elect Rupert Vance to the Administration Committee for the term ending in 1949.

The Committee adjourned at 6:30 P.M. The next meeting is to be held at 3:30 P.M., Sunday, December 29.

Respectfully submitted,  
CONRAD TAEUBER, Secretary

#### SECOND MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 29, 1946

Minutes of the second meeting of the Executive Committee, at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, 3:30 P.M., December 29.

Present were: Carl C. Taylor, Chairman, Harry Alpert, Robert C. Angell, Lloyd Allen Cook, E. Franklin Frazier, Noel P. Gist, Katharine Jocher, George Lundberg, Austin L. Porterfield, Stuart Queen, Calvin Schmid, Louis Wirth.

Voted to approve the minutes of the preceding meeting as read.

Voted to elect Ernest R. Mowrer as Secretary-Treasurer for the term ending December 31, 1947, and as Managing Editor for the balance of the term ending June 30, 1947, and for the two year term ending June 30, 1949, and that Conrad Taeuber is to serve in these positions until he and Mowrer can work out the transfer.

Ernest Mowrer then joined the group.

Margaret Jarman Hagood, Chairman of the Committee on Statistics, and Howard Brunson and P. K. Whelpton, members of that Committee, then came in to discuss some questions which had arisen in the work of that Committee.

Voted that, in cases in which the Committee on Statistics believes that prompt action is required to assure needed improvement of statistical sources used by sociologists, it is to transmit its recommendations at once to the officers of the Society; and that, in case of an emergency, the President of the Society is authorized to act to lay the recommendations formulated by the Committee before the appropriate authorities.

Voted to table the report of the Committee on Honorary Members.

Voted that the incoming President appoint a Committee to investigate the possibilities of establishing a series of monographs to be published by the Society and that this committee consult with the regional sociological societies in arriving at its recommendations.

Lloyd Allen Cook reported that the study of sociology in the secondary schools which had been initiated by the committee of the same name was almost ready for publication and would soon be available.

Katharine Jocher reported as Chairman of the Section on Contributed Papers.

Voted to accept the report.

In the subsequent discussion of the method of planning programs for the Society it was suggested that ways be explored of allowing at least

one-half hour of each two hour session for discussion from the floor, of specifying to persons asked to present papers the time limit which they would be expected to observe, and the time by which the paper should be available. Consideration was given also to the possibility of establishing sections for contributed papers which would be open to persons other than students, the selection of papers for such sessions to be on a competitive basis.

Harry Alpert presented the request from the Eastern Sociological Society that consideration be given to having a procedure developed whereby members of the Society could be kept informed of legislative actions of interest to sociologists. After some discussion it was agreed that the incoming President would explore this question further with the Social Science Research Council.

Voted that in case the amendments to the by-laws for the classification of membership are adopted by the Society, the following be declared elected as members of the Classification Committee: R. E. L. Faris for a two year term, James H. Bossard for a one year term, Leonard Bloom for a three year term, and that Mr. Faris be designated as Chairman for the first year. Should any one of these be unable to serve, Harry Moore is to be declared elected to the vacancy.

The Committee approved by acclamation the expression of appreciation for the leadership which Carl Taylor had given the Society during his term as President.

The meeting adjourned at 6:05 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

CONRAD TAEUBER, *Secretary*

FIRST BUSINESS MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,  
DECEMBER 29, 1946

The Minutes of the first Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society, held in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, at 1:15 P.M., December 29, 1946.

President Carl C. Taylor in the Chair.

President Taylor opened the meeting by announcing an informal meeting for 8:00 P.M. at which the discussion would center around questions concerning the relations of the Society to international organizations such as the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, and any other matters which the group might wish to discuss.

The Secretary announced the names of the

members of the Nominating Committee appointed by the incoming President and also the membership of the Resolutions Committee appointed by President Carl Taylor.

The Chairman explained that the purpose of the meeting was to provide for an opportunity for a relatively full discussion of matters affecting the welfare of the Society and that it was the intention to dispose of the routine business matters as quickly as possible in order that time would be available for full discussion of other matters.

Stuart Queen as Chairman of the Committee on Classification of Members presented the report of that Committee, as well as the minority report submitted by Howard Beers.

The report with the amendments agreed to is given below:

"Article I. Membership and Dues\*

"Section 1. The membership of the Society shall consist of the following classes: Active, Associate, Joint, Student, Life, *Honorary*, and Emeritus. Except as hereinafter specified the dues for membership in the Society shall be six dollars per annum, payable in advance, without initiation fee. Each member shall be entitled to one subscription to the *Review*. All members except Associate, *Honorary*, and Student members shall be eligible to vote and to hold office.

"Section 2. To be eligible for Active membership an applicant must either (a) have received the Ph.D. Degree in Sociology, or (b) have received (the A.M.) a Masters Degree in Sociology and have had at least two years of graduate study or of professional experience in teaching, research or practice in Sociology after receiving the *Masters Degree in Sociology (A.M.)*, or (c) have received the Ph.D. *or its equivalent* in a closely related field, such as anthropology, psychology, economics, or political science, and have had at least one year of professional experience in teaching or research or practice properly classifiable as sociological, or (d) *be elected by the Executive Committee upon nomination by the Classification Committee because of his contributions to Sociology.*

"Section 3. Registered undergraduate and graduate students in residence at educational institutions who have not completed all requirements for the Ph.D. and who are sponsored by a member of the Society, may be admitted to Student membership in the Society upon the pay-

\* Additions are italicized; Omissions are in parentheses.

ment in advance of three dollars per annum. This membership shall include one subscription to the *Review* and the right to attend all meetings of the Society, except business sessions, but not the right to vote or hold office.

"Section 4. Any active or associate member of the Society may become a Donor by the payment of dues of ten dollars or more per annum.

"Section 5. Any Active member of the Society may become a Life member by the single payment of one hundred dollars. Life members shall have the rights and privileges of membership.

"Section 6. Any Active member of the Society when retired by his institution, provided that he has paid dues to the Society continuously for at least twenty years, may become an Emeritus member of the Society. Emeritus members pay no dues but shall have all the rights and privileges of membership.

"Section 7. Honorary membership in the Society may be conferred upon any person by election at any annual meeting of the Society upon nomination by the Executive Committee. Honorary memberships shall have all the rights and privileges of membership, but shall not carry the privilege of voting or holding office.

"Section 8. Any person interested in (the) study, teaching, or research in Sociology may apply for Associate membership in the Society. An Associate member shall be entitled to one subscription to the *Review* and to attend all meetings of the Society, except business sessions, but shall not vote or hold office.

"Section 9. Joint membership in the categories for which they are eligible may be taken out by a husband and wife upon payment of dues of seven dollars per annum, both of whom shall have all the rights and privileges of membership in the Society, provided that they shall together be entitled to one subscription of the *Review*.

"Section 10. Decisions concerning eligibility for membership in any class and recommendations for election of Honorary members shall be made by the Classification Committee.

"Section 11. *Persons who on January 1, 1947, are Honorary or Emeritus members shall be continued in their present categories. Those who are student members on that date shall be permitted to continue as such so long as they may be eligible. Those who are then members or joint members shall be classified as Active members.*

"Article III. Committees and Boards

"Section 4. The Executive Committee shall

elect a Classification Committee of three to serve for three years each, except that "when the Committee is first established one member shall be elected for one year, one for two years and one for three years. In collaboration with the Secretary the Classification Committee shall devise procedures (for classifying the present members of the Society and) for passing on future applications for membership.

"Section 5. (The present Section 4 of Article III shall be numbered Section 5)."

Howard Beers, a member of the Committee, dissented from the report of the Committee, writing:

"This reply to your third communication (September 18) can only be a re-affirmation of the two earlier statements. I disapprove all of the four propositions in the memorandum.

1. Anyone whose interest in sociology motivates him to pay dues in the Society should be an acceptable member.

2. By distinguishing active from associate members, we would let the camel get his head in the tent, and the way would be readied for further stratification of membership.

3. The proposed category of active membership would exclude persons in the social action field, without teaching or research experience.

4. The individual differences in professional competence among persons proposed for active membership undoubtedly cover a wider range than general differences between the group that would be blanketed in and that which would be blanketed out. There are social workers, ministers of religion, well-read laymen, and others, who are better sociologists than some with Master's degrees, or even than some with Ph.D. degrees in sociology.

These viewpoints could be elaborated, and similar points added. Just now, however, I wish merely to suggest that the Committee recommend to the Executive Committee that no change be made in the membership ruling."

The proposal to substitute the term "Fellow" for "Active" members was voted on and lost.

In the discussion it was pointed out that classification is undesirable, especially at the present time when Sociology and the American Sociological Society are not reaching the entire field open to them; that this introduces stratification and violates the thesis of the Presidential Address that what is needed is closer co-operation between men of science and men of common sense; that if there is to be stratification it



should be based on accomplishment rather than on the artificial standards proposed, and since stratification on the basis of accomplishment is impossible, the whole scheme should be abandoned; that the Society needs to take steps to provide for more socialization of its members at annual meetings, but that this move toward stratification actually reduces the possibility of closer contacts among the members of the Society.

It was countered that a professional organization has the right to determine the qualifications of its memberships; that other societies confronted with similar problems have effectively set standards for their members and have thus gained in status outside their own field; that it is necessary for the Society to be able to speak as a professional society; that the American Association of Social Workers had effectively introduced a classification of its membership and had actually increased its membership, for it is now able to speak with authority for the profession.

Stuart Queen estimated that 80 to 95 per cent of the present membership would qualify for active or student membership under the proposal. He stated that no survey had been made to determine the number of qualified sociologists not now in the Society who might be induced to join it if classification were introduced.

Voted to place the proposal as amended on the agenda of the next business meeting.

Voted to instruct the Resolutions Committee to formulate a statement concerning the proposed National Science Foundation or other Federal aid to research.

Voted to instruct the Resolutions Committee to take cognizance of the proposed investigation of academic workers by the Committee on Un-American Activities and to state the Objections of the Society to this procedure as a threat to academic freedom and to teaching.

Voted that the officers of the Society are requested to submit at the next annual meeting suggestions whereby the interests of the members of the Society in the matter of teachers' salaries and of locating vacancies might be effectively served.

Charles Johnson presented a brief report on the role of the social sciences in the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, indicating that this organization had a number of projects which would require the active co-operation of social scientists, both for

planning and executing the programs. He urged members interested in co-operation with UNESCO to indicate their interest to the Secretary.

The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee on December 27 were presented.

Voted to approve the election of E. W. Burgess to the Social Science Research Council, Robert M. MacIver to the American Council of Learned Societies, the designation of the Secretary as permanent alternate to the A.C.L.S., Talcott Parsons to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and G. Howland Shaw to the American Prison Association.

It was suggested that the membership list include not only present position as proposed by the Executive Committee, but also some indication of recent positions and/or academic record.

The meeting adjourned at 3:25 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

CONRAD TAEUBER, *Secretary*

SECOND BUSINESS MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,  
DECEMBER 30, 1946

Minutes of the second Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society, held at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, 11:00 A.M., December 30, 1946.

President Carl C. Taylor in the Chair.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were approved as read.

Voted to approve the amendments to the by-laws as presented in the minutes.

The Secretary reported that the Executive Committee had voted at its last meeting to elect Ernest Mowrer as Secretary-Treasurer for the term ending December 31, 1947, and as Managing-Editor for the balance of the term ending June 30, 1947, and for the two year term ending June 30, 1949, and that Conrad Taeuber is to serve in this position until he and Mowrer can work out a transfer.

Voted to approve this action of the Executive Committee.

Voted that a committee of three be appointed by the President of the Society to maintain active liaison with the United States National Commission for UNESCO, fulfilling the following functions:

1. Securing and passing on to the membership information about UNESCO, its activities, projects, and needs.
2. Passing on to the United States National Commission for UNESCO, suggestions

originating with the membership of the Society.

3. Serving in an advisory capacity, as requested, on problems in which the United States National Commission for UNESCO wishes the advice of sociologists.
4. Extending the foreign affiliations of the Society, using State Department facilities.
5. Working toward the formation of an international society of sociologists.

In all these activities the committee should work with the Social Science Research Council.

The Chairman explained that under the by-laws any motion to establish a new committee would be referred to the Executive Committee, and that therefore the motion as approved would be referred to the Executive Committee for action.

Professor Louis Wirth presented the report of the Resolutions Committee:

(1) Resolved that the American Sociological Society express its hearty appreciation for the work of the Local Arrangements Committee, consisting of Ernest Mowrer, Chairman, Murray H. Leiffer, and Hubert Bonner for their services in making this successful meeting of the Society possible in the face of great difficulties.

(2) Resolved that the American Sociological Society express its affection for and gratitude to Conrad Taeuber who has served the Society so faithfully, efficiently, and graciously as Secretary-Treasurer and Managing Editor during five of the most difficult years in the Society's history.

(3) Whereas, as in other periods of unrest and insecurity, there are evidences of intolerance, repression, and interference with academic freedom, with the consequent threat to unshackled scientific research and teaching.

Therefore, be it resolved that the American Sociological Society join other groups of scholars and scientists in reaffirming the indispensability of unrestricted freedom to seek and present the facts and their interpretation in accordance with the best traditions of learning.

(4) Resolved that in the event of the establishment of a National Science Foundation or other means for aiding scientific research and training through public funds, the American Sociological Society deems it of the utmost importance that in the interests of the national welfare and safety the social sciences be given recognition and support on a scale adequate to discharge their responsibilities to the nation, that social scientists be properly represented in

the administration of such funds and that freedom of inquiry and the dissemination of knowledge be safeguarded.

Voted to approve resolutions (1) and (2) as presented.

It was moved and seconded that the following be substituted for resolution number (3)

*Resolved:* That the American Sociological Society records deep concern over the threat to academic freedom and scientific investigation involved in some of the pronouncements and accusations of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives. On various occasions, the Committee, its members and its staff have maligned the character and reputation of indubitably loyal and patriotic citizens who have high standing as social scientists and educators. Such unfounded pronouncements and accusations are calculated to intimidate scientists and teachers, inhibit free expression of scholarly opinion on public questions, and prevent investigation of problems of social importance.

The American Sociological Society regards such unfounded accusations and pronouncements as a serious menace to freedom of investigation and freedom of speech and teaching which are not only sanctioned by the Constitution and by American tradition, but are also fundamentally imperative for the wholesome development of democratic education and for the pursuit of scientific research.

*Be It Further Resolved,* That the Secretary of the Society inform appropriate persons and committees of the government of the contents of this resolution.

On a division called for by the Chairman, the substitution was lost, the vote being 45 for the substitution, with 47 against.

It was then moved that the resolution as presented by the Resolutions Committee be amended by adding the following: "and that the American Sociological Society further go on record against any activities of Federal, State, and local agencies and committees impeding freedom of scientific inquiry and academic freedom."

Voted to approve the amendment, the vote being 61 for the amendment and 38 against.

Voted to approve Resolution number (3) as amended.

Voted to approve Resolution number (4) as presented by the Resolutions Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 12:05 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

CONRAD TAEUBER, Secretary

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

FOR THE PERIOD DECEMBER 1, 1945, TO  
NOVEMBER 30, 1946

**Membership.** The Society shared in the increase of membership during the year, which has been generally reported by other Professional Societies. Total membership on November 30 was 1,651; a year previously it had been 1,309, and in 1944 there were 1,242 members.

## COMPARISON OF MEMBERSHIP 1945 AND 1946

Type of membership	Dec. 1, 1945	Dec. 1, 1946
Single.....	911	1,202
Student.....	143	300
Joint.....	48	62
Sustaining.....	6	7
Life.....	33	31
Honorary.....	7	5
Emeritus.....	15	13
Free Armed Forces.....	143	28
Exchange.....	3	3
Total.....	1,309	1,651

The Society is particularly indebted to Professor Delbert Miller and his active Committee on Membership. Of the total number of new members enrolled, 208 are directly attributable to the efforts of some member of that Committee. Undoubtedly their solicitation was also responsible for some of the other new memberships. Their record is especially noteworthy because the Committee was not organized until after the Cleveland meeting and so had only eight months in which to work. Many members who are not on the Membership Committee also contributed to the Society's growth. Personal solicitation by members is the most effective means of increasing the Society's membership.

The information concerning the members of the Society which is available in the files is not sufficiently complete to give a full classification of the membership. However, an attempt was made as of June 1 to classify the members by the types of positions they reported. More than half the members stated that they were on the teaching or research staff of a college or university. An additional 13 per cent reported themselves as students. There were also some members who failed to give sufficient information for this classification, but whose mail address is the same as that of an educational institution. The detailed results are as follows:

	Percent
Department Head .....	9.1
Professor .....	11.8
Associate Professor .....	6.1
Assistant Professor .....	5.0
Instructor .....	6.1
University or College .....	16.7
(Rank not specified)	
Student .....	13.3
U. S. Government Research .....	7.2
Other Research .....	2.3
Social Workers .....	2.3
Emeritus .....	1.9
Other .....	8.4
Not Specified .....	9.5

The "Other" category includes a variety of occupations, some economic consultants, some newspaper writers, personnel workers, ministers, executive of Co-operative Union, county agents, a few librarians, a few high school teachers, and a few members who are still in the Armed Forces.

**Necrology.** Deaths during the year claimed seven members: C. A. Ellwood, Earle Eubank, Virginia J. Esterley, Ernest R. Groves, E. Y. Hartshorne, E. B. Reuter, W. Russel Tylor.

**Representatives.** The reports of the representatives of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, the American Prison Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Documentation Institute are given elsewhere. In addition to these elected representatives, the President designated the following to represent the Society on the occasions specified:

W. A. Anderson at the inauguration of President Greene of Wells College.

Charles J. Bornman at the inauguration of President Whitaker of Lehigh University.

Charles A. Ellwood at the North Carolina Sesquicentennial Celebration.

Joseph A. Geddes at the inauguration of President Olpin of the University of Utah.

Gordon W. Lovejoy at the inauguration of President Lucas of Sweet Briar College.

Bernhard J. Stern at the unveiling of the Bust and Tablet of Booker T. Washington at New York University.

Warren S. Thompson at the inauguration of President Jones of Earlham College.

Arthur L. Beeley at the inauguration of President McDonald of Brigham Young University.

Alice Davis at the inauguration of President Modlin of the University of Richmond.

C. E. Lively at the inauguration of Chancel-

lor Arthur Compton of Washington University.

John Lobb at the inauguration of President Limbert of Springfield College.

Wayne C. Neeley at the 75th Anniversary of Wilson College.

Constantine Panunzio at the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the Graduate School of the University of Southern California.

Leslie D. Zeleny at the inauguration of President Morrill of the University of Mississippi.

*Activities of the Administration and Executive Committees.* In accordance with the vote of the Executive Committee at Cleveland, efforts were made to arrange for a meeting in Chicago during the period between Christmas and New Year. To conclude the arrangements for a meeting, it was necessary to agree to pay a rental for the use of the meeting rooms. Authorization for entering into such an agreement with the Stevens Hotel was secured by mail from the Administration Committee in April. The Sections proposed for the December, 1946, meetings by the Program Committee were approved.

In October the George Banta Publishing Company proposed a new contract for the printing of the *Review*, involving an increase in printing costs amounting to approximately 28 per cent over the scale which prevailed during 1946. The Administration Committee voted to authorize the Managing Editor to sign the new contract on behalf of the Society.

The Executive Committee voted in May to have the Society join with other groups in sponsoring a proposed National Conference on Family Life by signing a letter asking President Truman to appoint a preparatory commission for the purpose of arranging for such a Conference. Although such a Preparatory Commission has not been appointed, plans are now being formulated for the organization of a Conference on Family Life to be held under private auspices. More than a hundred organizations have signified their interest in this undertaking.

In July the Executive Committee voted to have a meeting of the Committee called for December 27, to allot more time to business meetings at the time of the annual meeting than was the case at the last meetings, and offering to take over the preparation of copies of material to be distributed to the audience to support papers being presented at the annual meeting, and voted to supply back issues of the *Review*, without charge, to persons in war-torn countries who had been members of the Society prior to the War.

In December the Committee authorized the establishment of a registration fee of \$1 at the Chicago meeting, in order to defray the charge for the use of meeting rooms.

*Other.* The officers of the Society co-operated with the Social Science Research Council in its efforts to point out the importance of the Social Sciences in connection with the proposed National Science Foundation. Although the proposed legislation failed to pass the Congress, the need for federally supported research on a broad front and the need for the training of personnel to carry on research continues. What action will be taken on the particular proposal that was under discussion during the last year cannot now be predicted. However, the discussion brought out clearly the need for social scientists to define more clearly than they have done what role they are able to take in research on the broad national issues which confront the country and how they are or might be organized to meet their responsibilities in this field. The debate in the Congress and elsewhere showed wide misunderstanding of the nature and role of the social sciences, a condition which should be a matter of deep concern to groups such as ours. A committee of the Society has been studying these and related problems. There are numerous opportunities for individuals and organized groups to contribute to a better understanding, and continued consideration should be given to ways of effectively utilizing such opportunities. Attention is called to the article by Talcott Parsons in the December issue of the *Review* which reviews the issues and the actions taken relating to the inclusion of the Social Sciences in the proposed National Science Foundation.

Through the generosity of a friend of the Society, the Secretary was supplied with 200 copies of Public Affairs Pamphlet by Waldemar Kaempffert, relating to the role of the Social Sciences. These copies were distributed to members of the Society in accordance with a scheme worked out in co-operation with the President.

Another publication, "Small Business and Civic Welfare," a report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation, provided material of so much interest to Sociologists that a request was filed with the Corporation for copies to distribute to the members of the Society. These copies were supplied and distributed.

In accordance with the instructions given at the last meeting of the membership, the Secretary conducted a poll of the members to secure



their preferences relating to time and place of the annual meeting. The results were published in the October issue of the *Review*. They indicated wide differences in the time and place preferences, but the period between Christmas and New Year was preferred by a small majority, and there appeared to be some preference for holding meetings generally in the East and Middle West, with occasional meetings in other parts of the country. More detailed results of the ballot were distributed to the Executive Committee.

A great deal has been done to re-establish the communication among sociologists of all countries which was interrupted by the war—many members of the Society have had opportunity to contact sociologists abroad, and a number of sociologists from other countries have been in this country during the past year. Although the possibility of some formal relationships with sociologists of other countries was under discussion at the last meeting of the Executive Committee, it has not been possible to press forward on that front. No doubt the Society will want to keep this as a project for active study and for possible action at the appropriate time.

The Society owes a debt of gratitude to Professor Ernest Mowrer who undertook the difficult task of making the local arrangements for the December, 1946, meeting of the Society. It is largely due to his persistent efforts that the meeting could be scheduled and held.

The work of the Society has continued to have the active participation of a large number of individuals. Nine members carried the major burden of arranging for the program at these meetings; 104 persons are reading papers or prepared discussions; 41 members have been serving on the membership committee; 15 members carried on the work of the nominating committee; and nearly 40 other members served on other committees. Such a listing would be incomplete without mentioning the editor and his staff of co-workers, whose job is an especially time-consuming one.

Respectfully submitted,  
CONRAD TAEUBER, *Secretary*

**ANNUAL REPORT, MANAGING EDITOR,  
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW**

FOR THE PERIOD DECEMBER 1, 1945, TO  
NOVEMBER 30, 1946

*Inventory of Proceedings:* On November 30

the volumes of Papers and Proceedings on hand were:

<i>Volume</i>	<i>Copies</i>	<i>Volume</i>	<i>Copies</i>
I	6	XVI	9
II	1	XVII	13
III	2	XVIII	8
IV	1	XIX	158
V	1	XX	31
VI	1	XXI	208
VII	1	XXII	62
VIII	5	XXIII	64
IX	1	XXIV	285
X	36	XXV	303
XI	3	XXVI	53
XII	13	XXVII	322
XIII	1	XXVIII	83
XIV	6	XXIX	49
XV	124		
			1,850

*Inventory of Review:* On November 30 the number of copies of the *American Sociological Review* on hand were as follows:

<i>Volume</i>	<i>Copies</i>
I (1936)	1,020
II (1937)	892
III (1938)	516
IV (1939)	837
V (1940)	1,087
VI (1941)	1,115
VII (1942)	1,097
VIII (1943)	1,005
IX (1944)	544
X (1945)	1,285
XI (1946)	913

The number of members receiving the *Review* and the subscribers, both library and general, continued to increase during 1946. Two thousand nine hundred copies of each issue are now being printed. During the year three sets of the *Review* published during the war years were made available to former members in European countries who had been unable to receive the *Review* during the war. Members who had been in the armed forces and had missed or lost individual copies were supplied with copies so far as possible.

In accordance with action authorized by the Executive Committee, a new contract for printing the *Review* was entered into with the George Banta Publishing Company effective with the

December, 1946, issue. The new contract brings up to date the provisions of the former contract, as well as modifications subsequently agreed to, but primarily it puts into effect a new schedule of rates, approximately 28 per cent above the present scale. After this new contract was submitted to the Managing Editor, another bid was secured from a printer well equipped to handle journals such as the *Review* and apparently currently soliciting business. The simplest way of expressing the resulting figures in comparable terms is in the price of printing one issue of the *Review*. The October issue actually cost us \$1,190; under the new contract it would have cost \$1,523; and under the other bid submitted the costs would have been \$1,703.

Some difficulty was experienced during the year in getting copies of the *Review* to all the members and subscribers. A large number of copies were returned to the Managing Editor's office because of changes of address which had not been announced to that office. Locating the individual and subsequently mailing his copy again has increased costs and undoubtedly has caused inconvenience to the reader himself. Moreover, with the rapid growth in the Society's membership during the year, it was not always possible to provide back issues to the new members. As a matter of fact, the supply of the February, 1946, issue is virtually exhausted.

Contrary to expectations a year ago, 1946 has been a particularly difficult year for printers and publishers generally. The Editor reports that the supply of manuscripts has increased. However, rising costs necessitated by numerous factors beyond the control of the printer have made it necessary to hold to the previously established size of the *Review*, namely, 128 pages per issue.

Again, it is appropriate to acknowledge the unflinching co-operation of the staff of the George Banta Publishing Company, and especially Mr. F. R. Brandherm, who in many ways has minimized the difficulties involved in getting out each issue of the *Review* and holding to the time schedule as nearly as possible.

The attention of the Society is called to the inventory of both the *Review* and the *Proceedings*. While there is a continuing call for particular issues, the holdings of some copies of the *Review* and also some copies of the *Proceedings* are now excessively large. Storage is increasingly a problem, both in the office of the Managing Editor and at the publishers. It would seem

appropriate to reduce the holdings of those back issues for which there is relatively little demand to a level more nearly in line with demand that can be anticipated.

#### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

FOR THE PERIOD DECEMBER 1, 1945 TO  
NOVEMBER 30, 1946

Financially, the year 1945-46 was again an improvement over preceding years for the Society. Total receipts amounted to \$13,357, compared with \$11,837 in 1944-45. Total expenditures also increased, and amounted to \$11,075, compared with \$9,277 in the preceding year. Excess of income over expenditures for the fiscal year was \$2,282, compared with \$2,560 the preceding year.

Increased costs manifest themselves in most phases of the Society's activities for which funds are available. Costs of clerical help have been increased, and in addition there was the cost involved in transferring the editorship from Professors Chapin and Vold to Professor Angell and his associates. Costs of printing and office operations likewise have gone up. During the year there were the mailings necessary for two meetings, in March, 1946, and in December, 1946. With the high residential mobility, general mailings to the members have seemed to require first class postage. The rapid growth in membership during the year has been responsible for some of the increased cost of mailing, because an effort was made to get back issues to members joining during the year, and the costs of mailing these is included in the separate headings "postage, telephone, and telegraph." The fact that the membership of the Society has again been quite mobile is also a factor in costs—there is the postage paid on *Reviews* which are returned as undeliverable and the additional postage of mailing to the member when his new address is finally communicated to the office.

The major item of expense of the Society continues to be the publication of the *Review*. As indicated in the report of the Managing Editor, there is to be a substantial increase in these costs next year, because of a rise in printing and paper costs which was put into effect with the issue for December, 1946.

Receipts from dues are up sharply indicating the substantial increase in the Society's membership, and also some prepayment of dues for

1947 and later years. The increase in receipts from subscriptions is essentially due to more advance payments in hand by the end of the fiscal year than was the case previously. Income from advertising has continued to increase.

Cash on hand and in the bank on November 30 amounted to \$6,553 compared with \$5,148 a year ago.

Details of Income and Expenditures for the past fiscal year are covered in the Auditor's Report and in the Statement on Expenditures included in the Report of the Committee on Budget and Investment.

Respectfully submitted,  
CONRAD TAEUBER, *Treasurer*

### AUDITOR'S REPORT

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED  
NOVEMBER 30, 1946

December 20, 1946

To the Executive Committee of  
The American Sociological Society  
Washington, D.C.

We have examined the books and records of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1946. In connection

therewith, we reviewed the system of internal control and the accounting procedures of the Society, and without auditing all of the transactions examined or tested the accounting records and other supporting evidence by methods and to the extent we deemed appropriate.

Accounts receivable were not confirmed by correspondence with the debtors, nor was the taking of the publications inventories observed by us. Quantities were taken from available memoranda and valuation was made by the Secretary-Treasurer on the basis of estimated quantitative requirements and cost of replacement.

In our opinion, subject to the foregoing comments, the accompanying Balance Sheet and related Statement of Income and Expense are in conformity with generally accepted principles of accounting applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year (except as to inventories as stated above) and present fairly the financial position of The American Sociological Society at November 30, 1946, and the results of its operations for the fiscal year then ended.

BENJAMIN F. REGARDIE

Certified Public Accountant  
Washington, D.C.

### BALANCE SHEET—NOVEMBER 30, 1946

#### Assets

#### Current Assets:

Cash on deposit—Citizens Bank of Riverdale .....	\$6,543.34	
Cash on hand .....	10.00	
Petty cash fund—Editor's office .....	25.00	\$ 6,578.34
Accounts receivable .....		383.36
Inventories (at values estimated by Secretary-Treasurer):		

#### American Sociological Review:

4,559 copies at \$.25 .....	\$1,139.75	
6,440 copies at \$.10 .....	644.00	\$1,783.75

#### Proceedings:

29 copies at \$3.00 .....	\$ 87.00	
341 copies at \$1.00 .....	341.00	
1,483 copies at \$.50 .....	741.50	1,169.50

#### Library of The American Sociological Review (see Note 1)

*Social Problems and Social Processes* by Dr. E. S. Bogardus, published in 1932  
by University of Chicago Press:  
62 copies (without cost value) .....

2,953.25

Total current assets ..... \$ 9,914.95

*Investments (at cost):*

	Market Value	Cost
<b>Bonds:</b>		
United States Savings Bonds, Series F .....	\$1,480.00	\$1,480.00
Hyde Park Baptist Church of Chicago, 4%, due 5/1/1953 .....	not listed	600.00
<b>Stocks:</b>		
American Telephone & Telegraph Company, Capital, par \$100.00, 3 shares .....	501.00	296.00
United States Steel Corporation, 7% cumulative preferred, par \$100.00, 5 shares .....	432.00	532.41
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Capital, par \$25.00, 12 shares .....	789.00	533.56
West Penn Electric Company, 7% cumulative preferred, par \$100.00, 2 shares .....	230.00	185.18
Consolidated Natural Gas Co. of Delaware, Common, par \$15.00, 1 share .....	50.00	15.00
Union Pacific Railroad Company, Common, par \$100.00, 10 shares ..	1,255.00	1,313.75
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, Common, par \$25.00, 10 shares .....	532.50	526.58
		5,482.48

*Deferred Charges:*

Deposit with Post Office .....	8.37
<b>Total</b> .....	<u>\$15,405.80</u>

Note 1: The Society maintains a library of *The American Sociological Review* which contains one bound and five unbound copies of each issue, to which no value has been assigned.

*Liabilities*

<b>Liabilities:</b>	
Withholding taxes .....	\$ 36.64

*Deferred Credits:*

## Deferred income:

## Dues:

1946—Single .....	\$ 595.11	
1946—Student .....	69.47	
1946—Joint .....	17.00	
1946—Sustaining .....	5.83	
1947—Single .....	89.00	
1947—Student .....	4.00	
1948—Single .....	14.00	
1949—Single .....	6.00	
1950—Single .....	6.00	
Life memberships .....	1,875.00	\$2,681.41

## Subscriptions:

1946—Library .....	\$ 412.52	
1946—General .....	122.53	
1947—Library .....	676.00	
1947—General .....	63.30	
1948—Library .....	6.00	
1948—General .....	6.00	1,286.35
		3,967.76

*Principal:*

Balance, November 30, 1945 .....	\$9,782.24
Add:	
Net income for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1946 .....	1,619.16
Balance, November 30, 1946 .....	<u>11,401.40</u>
<b>Total</b> .....	<u>\$15,405.80</u>



## OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

223

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE  
FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1946*Income:*

Dues (see Note 1) .....	\$8,272.78	
Subscriptions to <i>Review</i> (see Note 1) .....	3,093.81	
Sale of publications:		
<i>Review</i> .....	\$314.10	
<i>Proceedings</i> .....	30.96	
Other sales .....	46.18	391.24
Advertising in <i>Review</i> .....		1,316.91
Interest on investments .....		228.25
Miscellaneous .....		35.80
Royalties .....		18.45

Total income .....\$13,357.24

*Expense:*

Cost of printing and mailing <i>Review</i> .....	\$6,421.22	
Clerical aid to Secretary, Editor and Managing Editor .....	2,345.24	
Postage, telephone and telegraph .....	484.97	
Discounts allowed .....	202.20	
Printing and stationery .....	546.39	
Audit .....	150.00	
Election of officers .....	149.04	
Census of research .....	86.59	
<i>Proceedings</i> and <i>Review</i> purchases .....	107.00	
Office expense .....	156.59	
American Council of Learned Societies .....	35.00	
Bad debts .....	88.45	
Public relations committee .....	50.00	
Membership committee .....	111.22	
Bank service charge .....	3.19	
Travel .....	13.30	
Annual meeting .....	80.36	
Refunds .....	44.37	

Total expense ..... 11,075.13

Excess of income over expense .....\$ 2,282.11

Less: Net decrease in inventory of publications ..... 662.95

NET INCOME FOR THE YEAR .....\$1,619.16

Note 1: Undistributed receipts in the amount of \$311.24 were distributed on the basis of distributed receipts to total receipts.

## AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

## BUDGET APPROVED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

*Receipts*

	1946 Budget	1946	1947 Budget
<i>Treasurer's Account</i>			
Dues .....	\$ 6,800	\$ 8,273	\$ 8,000
Proceedings Sold .....	50	31	25
Income from Investments .....	200	228	275
Royalties .....	25	18	20
Miscellaneous Income .....		46	600
Sub-total .....	\$ 7,075	\$ 8,596	\$ 8,920
<i>Review Account</i>			
Subscriptions .....	\$ 2,400	\$ 3,094	\$ 2,400
Sales of Review .....	250	314	250
Income from Advertising .....	1,200	1,317	1,500
Miscellaneous .....	20	36	30
Sub-Total .....	\$ 3,870	\$ 4,761	\$ 4,180
Total Income .....	\$10,945	\$13,357	\$13,100

*Expenditures*

	1946 Budget	1946	1947 Budget
<i>Treasurer's Account</i>			
Clerical Aid .....	\$ 650	\$ 730	\$ 750
Postage, Telegraph and Telephone .....	125	242	250
Printing and Stationery .....	200	273	200
Office Expense .....	25	75	75
Travel, Secretary .....	50	13	60
Annual Meeting Expense .....	50	80	300
Dues and Subscriptions .....	35	35	35
Bank Charges .....	5	3	5
Auditor .....	150	150	150
Bad Debts .....	5	89	5
Election of Officers .....	135	149	150
Public Relations Committee .....	150	50	150
Committee on Statistics .....	—	—	50
Committee on Membership .....	100	111	100
Census of Research .....	100	87	100
Proceedings Purchased .....	20	107	20
Miscellaneous .....	25	44	25
Contingency Fund .....	100	—	300
Sub-Total .....	\$ 1,925	\$ 2,238	\$ 2,725
<i>Review Account</i>			
Editor-Clerical Help .....	\$ 1,650	\$ 886	\$ 700
Postage and Incidentals .....	150	221	250
Managing Editor—Clerical Help .....	650	729	750
Postage, Telegraph and Telephone .....	125	243	250
Printing and Stationery .....	75	274	200
Miscellaneous Expense .....	250	82	100
Printing of Review .....	5,700	6,200	7,800
Discounts Allowed .....	175	202	200
Sub-Total .....	\$ 8,775	\$ 8,837	\$10,250
Total Expenditures .....	\$10,700	\$11,075	\$12,975
Excess of Income over Expenditures .....	\$ 245	\$ 2,282	\$ 125

### REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

The 1946 membership committee began its organization at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in Cleveland on March 3. Forty membership representatives were chosen to represent the United States, Canada, and Hawaii. It was decided that the membership drive should be conducted with two campaigns, one to be launched in the spring and one in the fall.

The spring campaign was begun in mid-April. The membership chairman sent lists of the colleges in each area to the membership representatives and also lists of the principal public school officials in the area. Membership representatives sought to obtain new members among college faculties, high school faculties, and major students of sociology in colleges and universities.

Although the committee was handicapped by a late start, the spring campaign was a decided success. One hundred eighteen new members were secured directly through the efforts of the committee between April 15 and June 30. Meanwhile 93 new memberships came into the national office from sources other than the membership committee. Thus, when the spring campaign was concluded, the American Sociological Society had added 201 new members.

During the summer months a campaign was mapped out in the office of the membership chairman to solicit those graduate students whose names were listed in the July issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Since all of these persons either received an advanced degree or were working for an advanced degree, it was felt that their memberships would be an asset to the Society. Approximately 400 invitational letters were sent to these graduate students. Forty-eight, or 12 per cent, of the 400 letters were returned as unclaimed. We have made no check on the total number who accepted membership yet there is enough evidence to be able to say that this was a fruitful survey.

The fall membership campaign was launched in late October. The list of new members secured up to December 1 indicates that this fall campaign was productive of 90 new members who can be directly accounted to efforts of membership committee. As the 1946 membership committee examines the record on December 1, it can see that its efforts have produced a total of 208 memberships. By including those members who have come in from other sources the American Sociological Society has added 331

new members which represents 25 per cent of the total members of the Society at the beginning of this year.

During December it can be expected that still more memberships will come into the national office. In December, a survey of libraries was made and those libraries with periodical budgets over \$5,000 were listed. If such libraries were not subscribing to the *American Sociological Review* a letter was sent informing them that the *Review* is the official organ of the American Sociological Society and inviting them to add it to their library subscription list.

The membership committee was uniformly active during 1946. Some members achieved unusual records. The representative in California was able to obtain 25 new members, the representative in Maryland 16 new members, the representative in Ohio 15 new members, two New York representatives added 20 new members, and the representative in Massachusetts added 16 new members. In some ways the 10 new members added from Louisiana is the most remarkable achievement since there were only 15 members in Louisiana at the beginning of the year. These are only a few samples of some of the successful recruitment.

With opportunity to begin work earlier and with many seasoned representatives continuing to give their service, the membership committee may be able to match or exceed its 1946 efforts.

Respectfully submitted,  
DELBERT C. MILLER, *Chairman*

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

The Census of Current Research Projects was conducted as usual by this Committee and the results of the Census were published in the August issue of the *Review*. Also included was an analysis of the members' participation in the Census, which showed that even though participation has substantially increased during the past four years still only 43 per cent of the members returned a schedule this year and only 25 per cent of the members reported a project. Increased participation is essential before the Census becomes a very useful record of the Society's research activities. Ways and means of effectuating this should be a matter of consideration for the Executive Committee as well as for succeeding Committees of Social Research. There may, for example, be other services in addition to the Census which the Society could render its mem-

bers through information collected on the same schedule.

A matter of greater importance is the function of the Committee itself. During the past, the sole activity of the Committee has been the conducting of the Census. This seems a small part of what might be the job of such a standing committee. It is the hope of the present chairman that some consideration will be given by the Executive Committee to an expansion of the Committee's usefulness to the Society.

Respectfully yours,  
 RAYMOND V. BOWERS, *Chairman*  
 WAYLAND J. HAYES  
 CALVIN F. SCHMID  
 MAPHEUS SMITH  
 NATHAN L. WHETTEN

#### REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION

At the last meeting of the National Conference of Corrections, held in Detroit, October 4 to 8, there were four teachers of Criminology and Penology present: Professor A. E. Wood, of Michigan; Professor Fred Haynes, of Iowa; Professor Carl Johnson of Wisconsin; and myself. In times past Professor Thorsten Sellin has been a faithful attendee. Professors Sutherland and Taft have appeared once in awhile. It seems unreasonable that the teachers of the Criminology courses in our Sociology Departments can claim much competence in handling materials in modern Penology without a closer relationship to the leaders in this field and without participation in their national proceedings.

Likewise it is important, once in awhile, to have an outstanding practitioner in Penology on the program or the Criminology section of the American Sociological Society. Five or six years ago we have Mr. James V. Bennett, Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prison. Persons of national pre-eminence in the field of Penology such as Austin MacCormick, Sanford Bates, Richard McGee, etc., could ably lead a discussion or present a paper of import.

One hears the same old cry, which is still much more true than not, namely that the Sociological teachers of Criminology and Penology do not make contact with the local realities of prisons, jails, training schools, reformatories, juvenile probation, adult probation, and adult parole.

Sociology Departments which teach Penology material should make certain at least that they get a copy of the annual proceedings of the American Prison Association (which operates

the National Conference of Corrections), the current issues of Federal Probation, the year-book of the National Probation Association, and current issues of *The Prison World*, all by way of having good current reading from the field.

Since I may not be able to attend the Christmas meeting, will you kindly accept this written statement as my report on the relationship between the American Sociological Society and the American Prison Association.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

#### REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The most effective way of reporting to the Society on recent developments in the American Council of Learned Societies is to quote the following from a recent statement by the Director.

"The special meeting, called to consider an amendment to the Constitution and Bylaws by substituting therefore a new Code of Bylaws approved by the Advisory Board and Executive Committee, was held in the Hotel Statler, commencing at 2 P.M. on September 20 and adjourning at 9 P.M. on September 21. The meeting was attended by 34 delegates and 9 alternates, representing 23 societies. Five delegates were absent and were not represented by alternates.

The Council resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole for the consideration, seriatim, of the provisions of the new Code of Bylaws. Certain modifications of the text which had been communicated to the delegates in July were proposed by the Executive Committee and Advisory Board and were accepted, and other revisions were made on the basis of proposals from the floor. By Saturday noon, September 21, the Committee of the Whole completed its discussion and made its report to the Council. The Council then had before it the following motion:

To amend the Constitution and By-laws by substituting for them in their entirety the following Code of Laws entitled **BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES**, and to instruct the Secretary of the Council to submit this amendment to the Constituent Societies for ratification as provided in the Constitution of the Council, paragraph 15.

A long debate on this motion ensued, at the conclusion of which a vote was taken by roll call. The result of the vote was 31 ayes, 10 nays, and one recorded as not voting. All the delegates



present of 16 societies voted aye. All the delegates present and voting of 5 societies voted nay. The vote of the delegates of 2 societies was equally divided between aye and nay. One society was not represented.

Inasmuch as amendments to the Constitution must be adopted by two-thirds of the entire membership of the Council, i.e., by 32 votes, the motion failed of adoption by one vote.

After this vote, the Council recessed in order that the Advisory Board and Executive Committee might consult as to further action. When the Council reconvened it voted, on motion by a member of the Executive Committee, to instruct the Executive Committee to give further consideration to the proposed Code of Bylaws, to make such additional changes in them as seemed to be indicated by the discussion in the Council, and to report to the Council at the annual meeting in January, 1947. Under this vote it is assumed that the Executive Committee may submit another revision of the Code of Bylaws for discussion and action by the Council in the annual meeting.

The council also voted to instruct the Advisory Board to proceed at once with a study of a *program of activities* suited to the needs of the post-war situation, and to report the results of its study, with recommendations, to the Council in the coming annual meeting.

The Chairman reported the act of the Executive Committee giving the status of Director emeritus to the present Director as of October 1, 1946, and submitted a draft of a resolution instructing the Executive Committee to seek provision which would make it possible to secure the advisory services of the Director emeritus in the field of international relations for a period of two years, and to enable him to proceed with the preparation of a history of international intellectual relations since about 1850. This resolution was adopted as presented by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee announced that it had appointed Mr. Richard H. Shryock as Acting Director of the Council from October 1, 1946, until after the annual meeting of 1947. The Chairman stated that Mr. Shryock refused to consider appointment as permanent Director and that the Executive Committee would endeavor to report the appointment of a permanent Director to the Council for its confirmation in January. The Council voted to confirm the appointment of Mr. Shryock as Acting Director.

HAROLD PHELPS

# REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

Your representative attended the sessions of Section K, of the A.A.A.S., held in St. Louis, Missouri, March 27-30, 1946. The program for the Section consisted of 8 sessions five of which were concerned with the general subject of the impact of technology upon society, one (in cooperation with the American Statistical Association) with public opinion polls, one with the address of the vice-president, Chairman of the Section, and one with business. Eleven of the papers were published in *Social Science*, 21 (2) July, 1946. This is the quarterly journal of Phi Gamma Mu, one of the co-operating societies.

The session dealing with the regional organization and control of resources dealt with the proposed M.V.A. Your representative personally planned this program and presided at the session. One of the papers was read by J. O. Hertzler. Other sociologists who read papers at the sessions were W. F. Ogburn, Samuel Stouffer, and S. C. Gilfillan.

The attendance at most of these sessions was pitifully small, except for the session on public opinion polls which was very well attended. Although Bruce Melvin, Secretary of Section K, had made a strong appeal in the January 25th number of *Science*, for a good attendance, there appeared to be very little attempt to implement his appeal. There was a glaring lack of local support, perhaps most of the attendance coming from outside the St. Louis area. Apparently no effort had been made to turn out the students in social sciences attending the two local municipal universities.

At the business session, the matter of attendance and other items affecting Section policy were discussed. Your representative upheld the position that Section K should attempt (1) to bring together the best talent from the various fields of social science and focus attention upon some important subject of interest to all; (2) avoid, as far as possible, meeting in competition with other national social science bodies; (3) concentrate the sessions in time, in contrast to the practice of spreading them over a number of days; and (4) co-operate with regional and local societies and institutions in the area of meeting place, to enhance attendance. No action was taken at the session, but during June a "summary of proposals" on policy was circulated apparently to establish policy for the Boston meeting, December 26-31, 1946. This circular letter

stated that "it was felt that Section K should serve as an agency to emphasize within A.A.A.S. the need for consideration of all scientific problems in the social concepts." Also, "that Section K should provide a means through which various special groups within the social sciences may meet for mutual understanding and collaboration." It was proposed, therefore, that competition with meetings of national social science bodies should be avoided, that at Boston the Section programs be concentrated on the days of December 30 and 31, that the program be built largely around the economic and social problems of the New England area, that local groups be invited to participate, and that at least one session be devoted to topics of special interest to affiliated societies.

Your representative is not informed as to how well these proposals are working out in the case of the Boston meeting. A request for information dated October 25, had not been answered at the time this report was written. Under the Chairmanship of Dr. F. C. Mills, and the changes in policy suggested above, the vitality of the Section may increase. One thing appears to be clear: sociologists at present possess no vital concern with respect to the nature and success of the meetings of Section K, if their attendance may be used as a criterion. The Section undoubtedly has possibilities. But if sociologists do not support it and participate in formation of its policies, they need not be surprised if the activities of Section K continue to be dominated by a few well established scholars who are less concerned with the vitality of the Section than with the simulated prestige of the A.A.A.S.

C. E. LIVELY

#### REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The year 1946 has been one of unparalleled activity on the part of the Social Science Research Council. The rapid tempo of events and the increasing recognition of the value of the social sciences have placed a heavy load of responsibility upon the new director of the Council, Donald Young, and his staff and upon the committees of the Council. At its September meeting, the Council, after full consideration of the present needs of the social sciences and of the challenging demands of the present situation, voted unanimously to go forward upon an expanded program of increasing the staff of the Council so that it might effectively meet its

growing opportunity for intellectual leadership in social science research.

So numerous are the activities underway that this report can only select those of greatest interest to sociologists. Many of these are of interest to all social scientists, especially so because the area of common concern and co-operation has been steadily growing.

Foremost among these mutual objectives is the place of the social sciences in programs of government-sponsored and supported research. The basic problem which the social sciences face here, namely lack of understanding of the nature and methods of social science studies, was highlighted by the elimination of the division of the social sciences from the Kilgore-Magnuson Bill establishing a National Science Research Foundation when the measure came up for vote in the Senate last summer. The Council has appointed a strong committee on the relations of governmental research and the social sciences, headed by Robert Yerkes with members from the several disciplines. The sociologist on the committee is Talcott Parsons. The purpose of this committee is a long range one: to interpret to the administration, to Congress, and to the public the distinctive functions of social science research in providing the sound factual basis of knowledge necessary for intelligent governmental action.

The Council has embarked upon a vigorous program for the improvement of social science personnel. No sooner was the completion of the program of demobilization awards in sight which provided for fellowships for men whose research training and activity had been interrupted by the war, than the Council began a review of its fellowship program. Upon the basis of the findings of a study now underway by Elbridge Sibley, including schedules filled out by men engaged in graduate studies, the Council will determine what revisions are necessary in its present program. In large part because of the experiences of the war of the value of the discriminating selection of specialized ability and its training, evidences are multiplying of efforts of many different groups, particularly the military and the industrial, to make early selection of the most talented and to support their specialized training. Because of the real possibility that all the fields of science might be handicapped by such developments, the Council is co-operating with the other Councils in the Conference Boards of Associated Research Councils by the appointment of a committee to study this prob-

lem and to make recommendations of measures that will insure the flow of talent into scientific fields.

Since the social sciences are entering upon a new epoch in their history, the Council decided that a thorough study of organization for research in the social sciences was timely. Accordingly, a committee in this field was appointed consisting of Louis Wirth, chairman, Gordon W. Blackwell, Frederick G. Mills, Stanley F. Teele, Donald Wallace, and Malcolm Willey. Among the subjects which the committee is considering for investigation are: the problems and relative effectiveness of different types of research organization, a directory of social science research agencies, postwar teaching loads and their effect on university research, the financing of research, and the possibilities of inter-institutional co-operation in social science research.

Recognizing the new areas for research ushered in by the age of atomic power, the Council appointed a committee on the social aspects of atomic energy, Winfield Riefler, chairman, and including in its membership Frank Notestein and William F. Ogburn. Four projects have been undertaken. One of these is a preparation of a statement of the criteria for a successful international system to control atomic weapons including a consideration of technical and political factors. The second is an analytical summary of the problems arising from vulnerability to atomic warfare. The third is an investigation of the economics of atomic energy as a source of industrial heat and power, and its costs as compared with present costs of other sources of energy, and to estimate the economic effects of various postulated costs of energy from nuclear fission. A fourth project was a study of public opinion response to atomic energy and international relations carried out under the direction of L. S. Cottrell. Two samplings of opinion were made, one before and one after Operation Crossroads. Each sampling included an intensive survey employing the Likert techniques, and extensive survey with a schedule of twenty-five questions and a few questions inserted in the Gallup and Roper polls.

Another significant project of the Council was its sponsorship of a project to analyze the valuable research materials upon attitudes and behavior of soldiers gathered by the Research Branch of the Education and Research Division of the War Department during the war. These materials, under the direction of S. A. Stouffer,

have now been organized for publication in four volumes. Two of these are devoted to the social psychology of American troops during World War I. A third presents the methods and findings of experimental studies on problems in communication and in changes in attitudes especially in relation to the Army program of orientation and training. The fourth volume contains significant material on methodology and on techniques developed in the course of these investigations.

Only brief mention can be made of other activities of the Council of interest to sociologists. The Committee on Techniques for Reducing Group Hostility, Leonard S. Cottrell, chairman, has two exploratory studies underway, one in the field of industrial relations and the other in the area of race relations. On the basis of a canvass of the literature, of projects in progress and of the systematic formulation of hypotheses, a series of designs for research are being drawn up which will be aimed at the testing of the effectiveness of techniques for the reducing of group hostility. The Committee on Social Adjustment has continued its work in the field of adjustment in later maturity and in its study of mobility in relation to psychotic types in the community and the Council has just published under its auspices the monograph by Roger Barker. Earlier this year the Council published in mimeographed edition, a research planning report on *Social Adjustment in Old Age*. A Committee on Housing has been set up which is now exploring the possibilities of research in several fields including social requirements affecting housing standards, location factors in housing, investment risks, and the sociology of housing demand. An important project now in process of planning by a committee of the Council is a study of the library as a social institution. The Council is also completing an exploratory study of world area teaching and research training programs in American universities.

This partial account of the several selected activities of the Social Science Research Council will perhaps help to give the members of the Society an understanding of the significance of the work of the Council, and the scope and promise of its important activities and projects. It serves also to indicate that the Council is an indispensable agent of the social sciences in appraising their needs and problems and in developing a common program to achieve their objectives.

E. W. BURGESS

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTED PAPERS

The 1946 Committee on Contributed Papers of the American Sociological Society has the following suggestions to offer:

1. If sufficient interest is shown in the Section at this year's meeting, the section should be continued, since it gives opportunity for younger men and women to appear on the program and become known to the Society. Moreover, it stimulates the interest of the younger sociologists in the meetings. This year 20 papers were submitted; last year there were only 8. An opportunity to appear on the program of the Society, together with the possibility of publication in the *Review*, apparently is desired, as evidenced not only by the number of papers submitted but by the fact that both years every participant, upon the acceptance of his manuscript, has immediately signified his intention of being present to read his paper.

2. It would be well for the Committee to be appointed early enough for it to get well underway in the spring. During the last two years the Committee has been handicapped by not getting underway until the summer or fall.

3. An announcement should be carried in one of the spring numbers of the *Review*—not later than April. In addition letters should go in the spring to all student members of the Society and to all heads of sociology departments. Thus an opportunity would be afforded for the preparation of papers during the summer and early fall.

4. A follow-up announcement should appear in the August issue of the *Review*.

5. Each contributor should be asked to submit two copies of his manuscript. This will facilitate reading since two members of the Committee can be reading at the same time. It would also avoid unnecessary delay if one set of papers is temporarily lost in transit as happened this year. Two copies of the manuscript will also

make available one copy of each of the papers chosen to be read at the meeting to be sent on to the Secretary for publicity purposes.

6. It would be helpful, too, if participants would submit with their manuscripts a brief biographical sketch to be used when judging the manuscript and also by the chairman when presiding at the meeting.

7. The Section should be limited to the "younger" group and should not be open to anyone who has already appeared on the programs of the Society.

8. The Committee feels that a major function of this Section is to give as many contributors as possible an opportunity to appear on the program. President Taylor made this possible by allotting two sessions to this Section. Accordingly, the Committee decided upon eight papers—four for each session. No provision was made for special discussants because (1) of necessity the program must be made up so late that there is not time enough to get discussants; (2) it hardly seems fair to the contributors to ask experienced sociologists to discuss papers prepared by those with much less background and experience.

9. Experience has also demonstrated that it is well to emphasize to contributors that manuscripts shall not have been read elsewhere or have been published or accepted for publication elsewhere.

10. A Committee of three—Chairman and two members—is about right. They should not be too widely separated geographically. As always, the chairman carries the responsibility but his task is lightened considerably when he has the efficient and gracious co-operation of his committee as has been the good fortune of the present chairman.

KATHARINE JOCHER, *Chairman*  
PAUL W. TAPPAN  
ELLEN WINSTON



## CURRENT ITEMS



### NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

**Congrès mondial de la Famille et de la Population.** This Congress will be held in Paris June 22 to 29, 1947, under the auspices of the French *Union nationale des Associations familiales*. Among the topics to be considered are: family levels of living, the effect of women's working on the life of the family and on demographic phenomena, housing, parent-child relations, familial associations and their role in the state.

**The Social Sciences in Mexico and News About the Social Sciences in South and Central America** has been announced as a new quarterly journal in English under the editorship of Dr. Laszlo Radvanyi, Professor of the National School of Economics of the National University of Mexico. The purpose is to make known to the social scientists of other countries the work that is being done in this field in Latin America.

**Journal of Human Relations.** The publication beginning in January 1947 of this new scientific quarterly journal, is jointly announced by the Research Center for Group Dynamics of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, U.S.A., and the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in London, England.

The new journal will seek to encourage the development of an integrated approach in the social sciences as applied to human affairs, and is intended to supplement those more specific journals already existing in the field by providing an opportunity for side-by-side comparison of related work in various fields both at the conceptual and practical level.

More specifically, the content of *Human Relations* will include studies of person-function, inter-person relations and inter-group relations, as these are reflected in problems related to various social institutions such as the family, education, industry, government and the community.

**Sociatry, Journal of Group and Inter-Group Therapy**, has been founded under the editorship of J. L. Moreno. It is particularly dedicated to the development of methods in group psychotherapy and action therapy as Psychodrama, Sociodrama, Role Training, etc. Annual subscription is \$5.00; single copy \$1.50.

**Eastern Sociological Society.** The annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society will be held at

the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University, April 26-27, 1947. The officers of the Eastern Sociological Society are: Gladys Bryson, Smith College, president; Robert E. L. Faris, Syracuse University, vice-president; Bernhard J. Stern, secretary-treasurer, Columbia University. The members of the Executive Committee include: Harry Alpert, Washington, D.C.; Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College; E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University; and Julian Woodward, New York City. Robert K. Merton, Columbia University, is the Society's representative on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society.

**Michigan Sociological Society.** The following officers have been elected for 1947: Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University, President; Rupert C. Koeninger, Central Michigan College, Mount Pleasant, Vice-President; Elmer Akers, Hillsdale College, Secretary-Treasurer; and Solon Kimbal, Michigan State College, and Theodore M. Newcomb, University of Michigan, Members of the Executive Committee. The Wayne Sociological Society, of which Donald C. Marsh is President, served as host for the December, 1946, meeting.

**Bard College.** Professor Lyford P. Edwards has retired as Professor of Sociology after having served on the St. Stephen's-Bard Faculty since 1910.

Dr. Gerard DeGré succeeds Dr. Edwards as Senior Member of the Sociology staff.

Mrs. Eva R. Hofberg has been appointed Instructor in Sociology."

**Michigan State College.** Half and quarter time graduate assistantships are available to students desiring to do graduate work in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology next year. These are furnished by the School of Graduate Study and pay up to \$1,000 with exemptions from all fees and tuition. Also larger fellowship grants are available for advanced students. In addition part-time positions are available in connection with the Experiment Station and other research projects of members of the Department. Research done by graduate or experiment station assistants may be used in graduate dissertations. Applications for assistantships and fellowships should be submitted to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, East Lansing.

The Social Research Service of Michigan State College is a new agency established in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology to survey

public opinion and study human relations. It is supported from the general College, the Agricultural Experiment Station, and the Extension Service funds and accepts funds from private and public agencies. Activities of the Social Research Service supplements the studies currently financed and carried out under the auspices of the Section of Sociology and Anthropology of the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station. It also may carry out projects which may be adapted to the purposes and programs of the Agricultural Experiment Station.

Through the Social Research Service Dr. Loomis, Director, and Wilson Longmore, Hinman Graduate School Fellow of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, are now conducting a study to appraise colonization possibilities and public opinion concerning immigration and colonization of European refugees in the Andean countries of South America. Other projects, financed by the Social Science Research Council, the United States Department of Agriculture and the War Department are being made to appraise the results of the trainee programs under which Latin American students are brought to this country, and analyze factors related to the rise of Nazism and Communism in Germany.

Projects are conducted under staff members of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology as project leaders. E. A. Schuler and Duane Gibson, as project leaders, are conducting studies in the field of attitude analysis and public opinion research; Solon Kimball, in social organization and human relations; C. R. Hoffer, in health and medical care; J. F. Thaden in educational sociology; Judson Landis, in marriage and the family; Allen Beegle, in population; and Christopher Sower in youth, criminology and urban sociology.

**Roosevelt College.** Rose Hum Lee, Assistant Professor of Sociology, is teaching a Culture Studies course on China for the first time in the spring semester. Courses on Germany since 1870, African Culture and its Survivals in the New World, and Jewish Culture, are also being offered this spring, all given on an interdepartmental basis.

Mrs. Park, the widow of Robert E. Park, donated a portion of her husband's library to Roosevelt College. The gift of about 150 books consisted principally of Professor Park's books on the newspaper, a field of study in which he had specialized.

**University of Kentucky.** Irwin T. Sanders resumed the headship of the Department of Sociology in the College of Arts and Sciences upon his return in March, 1946, from a State Department Assignment in the American Embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Prior to joining the State Department he had been on leave from the University to do research with the Balkan section of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

C. Arnold Anderson, who had been in charge of the Population Section of the Research and Statistics Division at the National Headquarters of the Selective Service System, joined the staff as associate professor in July, 1945. He served as acting head of the department during the absence of Professor Sanders. Dr. Anderson is Moderator of the University Radio Roundtable and is a member of the Population Committee of the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council.

David L. Hatch is a newly-appointed assistant professor. He was visiting lecturer in Sociology at Clark University while completing his thesis "Study of Community Organization in New England: Comparative Shift and Integration over fifty-year Period," for his doctorate at Harvard.

Professor Howard Beers, in charge of Rural Sociology, announces the appointment of Mr. Ralph Ramsey as Field Agent in Rural Sociology, the first to be employed at the University. Mr. Ramsey has recently completed his work with the Land Tenure Study, which had its headquarters in Fayetteville, Arkansas.

**University of Michigan.** The Survey Research Center which is under the direction of Dr. Rensis Likert announces internships and assistantships for the summer of 1947 and the fall and spring terms of 1947-8. Appointments will be available at all levels of experience from advanced undergraduate assistantships to post-doctoral internships. At the higher level of sample design, analysis and study design at least ten appointments will be made. Part-time work to gain experience in coding and interviewing will be available also. Applications for the academic year 1947-8 must be received before August 1. Stipends for half-time positions for graduate students will begin at \$1,000, and for full time post doctoral internships at \$3,000 per annum. Candidates whose undergraduate training has been in any of the social sciences, including business administration and industrial management, will be considered. A few appointments will be made of persons primarily trained in mathematical statistics. Some undergraduate training in social psychology is highly desirable. Applications should be addressed to Dr. Likert.

Dr. Garrett Heyns, Director of Corrections for the State of Michigan, is offering a course in Prison Management during the current semester. Departmental offerings are being further enlarged with two courses in the field of Industrial Sociology given by Dr. L. J. Carr and two in the field of Survey Research Techniques given by Dr. Rensis Likert.

Dr. Gottfried S. Delatour, at present visiting Professor at Columbia, will participate in the special 1947 Summer Session program, "The United States in World Affairs." He will also give a course, War and World Society.

**University of Wisconsin.** Professor Howard Becker has accepted the position of Chief University

Office for Greater Hesia, American Zone of Occupation, Germany. He will probably continue in this position until the fall of 1948.

**Wayne University.** Dr. Edward C. Jandy, Associate Professor of Sociology, has returned to his duties at Wayne University February 1, 1947. He had served as UNRRA Director of Social Welfare in Ethiopia for more than a year.

*A New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, edited by Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, department chairman, has been published by Barnes & Noble. The co-authors of the volume, in addition to Dr. Lee, are Dr. Herbert Blumer and Dr. Everett C. Hughes, University of Chicago; Dr. A. B. Hollingshead, Indiana University; Dr. Norman D. Humphrey, Wayne University; and the late Dr. Edward B. Reuter, Fisk University.

## BOOK REVIEWS



*Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive.* By ROBERT K. MERTON, with MARJORIE FISKE and ALBERTA CURTIS. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. xiii + 210. \$2.50.

This is the first in a series of six studies in communication projected by the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Research. This particular volume presents the results of a study of a Kate Smith eighteen-hour broadcast in 1943, the purpose of which was to sell war bonds. It is called a study in "mass persuasion" rather than propaganda because the length of the broadcast permitted listener response to such an extent that there was a two-way interaction rather than the typical one-way pattern.

It was felt that this broadcast afforded a unique opportunity for study of persuasion techniques and responses in a real life situation. The object in general, of course, was to see to what extent the broadcast achieved its purpose, and why. But more than this was possible since it was practicable to discover which particular themes or techniques were most effective. Since the content of the broadcast was available it was possible to analyse it to find what themes were used and which avoided. This content analysis is one of the first steps.

It was originally intended to proceed from content analysis to the problem of measuring responses. But investigation showed that more was involved than the content alone. It became clear that the social context of the war and the attendant situation had to be considered. Furthermore, it became apparent, as the investigation proceeded, that the images of Kate Smith in the minds of the listeners were among the most important items. Hence, the real broadcast was not just the actual content of what was transpiring in the studio, but the content plus the social context and, especially, the images of Kate Smith.

The next problem was to select methods to secure data on the effectiveness of the broadcast as a whole and of the various themes. This was done in three ways. First, since purchases of bonds were made by telephone to local stations of the national hook-up, there was an accurate tabu-

lation of purchases, nationally and locally. A second procedure utilized a focused interview of one hundred persons, some of whom purchased bonds and others, though listeners, did not. These interviews began the day following the broadcast and were completed within a week or two. Each interview consumed from three to four hours, and in a majority of cases there was a second or follow-up interview. Qualitative data from these interviews were used in various ways, but in this instance were used as guides in the formulation of questions to be used in the third procedure. This third method was a "polled interview" of nearly a thousand persons chosen to give a cross section of the population as to education, occupation, income, and so on. Data from the two interviews not only enabled the investigators to determine the effectiveness of techniques used in the broadcast but also of the social context and the images of Kate Smith. They also enabled the study to penetrate the hitherto largely unexplored field of the role of the listener's behavior.

In addition to its contribution to methods of study, this volume witnesses to the power and efficiency of modern means of propaganda. One is impressed with the dangers of the use of such means if devoted to undesirable ends. But the text also emphasizes the debasing effect of propaganda even where the cause or goal is worthy. The authors raise the question, too, whether social scientists who confine themselves to the measurement and invention of techniques can absolve themselves for their failure to be concerned with values and the moral issues involved.

WALTER B. BODENHAER

Washington University

*The Problem of War in Nineteenth Century Economic Thought.* By EDMUND SILBERNER (Translated by Alexander H. Krappe). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. xiv + 332. \$3.00.

This volume, although constituting an independent unit, continues the author's earlier study, *La guerre dans la pensée économique du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Études sur l'histoire des théories économiques, vol. vii, Paris, Librairie*



du Recueil Sirey, 1939). The author has performed a valuable service for the history of economic doctrine in bringing together the writings of the liberal, the protectionist, and the socialist of the nineteenth century.

The scope of the work may be indicated by questions, the answers to which Silberner seeks in the writings of nineteenth century economists.

What part has war played in the economic evolution of mankind? What are the economic causes and effects of war? What is the influence of foreign commerce on international relations? Are colonies of economic advantage to the mother country? What is the best economic policy from the viewpoint of national defense? Should economic policy be subordinated to politics? What are the economic conditions of a durable peace? . . . Is military disarmament economically advantageous? Is permanent peace possible? . . . Are social reforms indispensable to world peace?

Twenty-eight economists are treated in sufficient detail to be named in the table of contents; the views of an even larger number are presented in the text. This is indicative of sketchiness in the writings of many of these economists. Especially among the liberals one notes the absence of systematic treatment of the above questions; consequently Silberner is forced in effect to create a synthesis from the contributions of a number of writers.

A few omissions may raise questions in the minds of the reader. However much the name of Marx is associated with the discussion of economic imperialism and war, Marxian doctrine on the subject is correctly excluded from this work, since it was developed largely by Hilferding, Luxemburg, and Lenin in the twentieth century. But the exclusion of Sombart's *Der Krieg und der Kapitalismus* is puzzling. Silberner explains that it does not contain "a synthetic view on the relations between war and the economic." If this is true of Sombart, it would seem to be equally true of many other economists not excluded.

The work is more descriptive than analytical. For the most part, Silberner reviews the writings of the economists, quoting them extensively, with only the more obvious criticism. Furthermore he explicitly rules out, with rare exceptions, observations on the social environment in which the ideas of the economists took shape.

The long bibliography should be useful to other scholars.

CHARLES E. LINDBLOM

Yale University

*The Theory of Human Culture.* By JAMES FEIBLEMAN. Pp. xiv + 361. \$5.00, New York, 1946.

Mr. Feibleman is a philosopher. *The Theory of Human Culture* is an attempt to help the sociologist and the cultural anthropologist advance their sciences. I may as well state plainly at the outset that I doubt very much that social science will benefit materially from this book.

Feibleman derives culture from three drives: feeding, breeding, and inquiring. The "dominant element" of culture is the implicit dominant ontology. "Every social group has its own implicit dominant ontology" (p. 73). The I.D.O. is "the most powerful factor in culture" (p. 90). The "origins of culture have always the same cause . . . the involvement of a social group with an implicit dominant ontology" (p. 158). Cultures "are integrated by means of the implicit dominant ontology" (p. 75). The behavior of members of a social group is determined by their implicit dominant ontologies. One is reminded of a certain well-advertised soap: I.D.O. "Duz everything."

What is this implicit dominant ontology? It is the "subconsciously accepted metaphysics of a social group" (p. 75), or, more simply, "the other name for common sense" (p. 48).

Dr. Feibleman also uses *ethos*—"the spirit of the age," the "quality of common sense"—and *mythos*, the explicit expression of *ethos*, in analyzing and interpreting culture.

Culture is determined—one might say, *caused*—by ideas, if I understand Feibleman. "The history of culture . . . is in essence the history of the *controlling guidance of a few great ideas*" (p. 265; emphasis mine). "Between a social group and its environment there stands"—what? Technology—the means of effecting a life-sustaining adjustment to habitat? No. What then? Why, "the irreducible fact of the implicit dominant ontology" (p. 71). Cultural advance results from "new stimulation," from "faith in a new set of ideas" (p. 162). This, I believe, is a point of view that social science has been striving to outgrow and abandon for decades. How have diverse peoples been able to unite themselves "in a single cultural bloc" Feibleman asks. "The answer is to be found only in the common acceptance of a set of ideas . . ." (p. 274). But *how* and *why* did they come to a common acceptance of ideas? Feibleman answers this question no more than he explains the alchemy of I.D.O.

The Great Man in culture history receives recognition from Feibleman: "cultures are brought forward, developed . . . by means of the single efforts of individuals;" the "chief impetus to the growth . . . of cultures comes from outstanding individuals" (p. 164). If there is anything that the growing science of culture has made clear, it is the relative insignificance of the Great Man, the "genius," in the developmental process of culture.

Feibleman presents seven types of culture, ranging from the infra-primitive to the ultra-scientific. But, he emphasizes, none of these types need correspond to anything in the real world, nor should they "be understood as a chronological progression" (p. 149). The purpose served by them then is not wholly clear. A number of cultures are analyzed by Feibleman: Maya (in which attempt is made to discover their ontology in their grammar and syntax), Pueblo, Baiga, English, etc.

Dr. Feibleman does not know too much about cultural anthropology despite his easy allusions to such cultures as the Hohokam and Cochise. He speaks of a time when bison hunting "was the main economic occupation of the Pueblo Indians" (p. 59), and of the use of the horse for transportation on infra-primitive cultural levels (p. 130)! We also find him giving voice to some well-worn misconceptions of Marx and Freud—that they explain everything in terms of economics and sex, respectively.

Dr. Feibleman confuses the social and the cultural despite a considerable body of literature that makes a distinction between a science of society (sociology) and a science of culture (cultural anthropology) clear. The one deals with the interaction of persons, the other with the interaction of culture traits *as such*. Tylor and Durkheim are mentioned, but Dr. Feibleman seems to have failed to grasp the significance of Tylor's essay "The Science of Culture" (Chapter I of *Primitive Culture*) or of Durkheim's *The Rules of Sociological Method*, especially the preface to the second edition. The contributions of Kroeber, Lowie, and Wissler to a science of culture are not even mentioned. Radcliffe-Brown, however, is cited for the "magnificence of his conception" despite the fact that he has categorically denied the possibility of a science of culture. ("Is a science of culture possible? Boas says it is not. I agree. You cannot have a science of culture," *The Nature of a Theoretical Natural Science of Society*, p. 71; mimeographed, Chicago, 1937.)

Sociology and cultural anthropology need all

the support and guidance they can get. Philosophy may well have a contribution to make. But it will have to be something better than *The Theory of Human Culture*.

LESLIE A. WHITE

University of Michigan

*Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*. By HANS J. MORGENTHAU. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. 245 pp. \$3.00.

This volume vigorously attacks rationalism as a social philosophy, and the rationalistic premises said to underly modern scientific thought, especially in the realm of social action. Man's nature has three dimensions—rational, biological, and spiritual—and of these science in general and social science in particular emphasize the first dimension and largely leave out of account the impulses and aspirations making up the second and third dimensions.

Rationalism reflected conditions in a certain stage of social evolution. Originating in the seventeenth century, it eventually triumphed in the rise to power of the middle classes and in the liberal philosophy serving as a weapon in their struggle with the feudal state. With the close of that struggle and establishment of a new social order, however, rationalism and liberalism had fulfilled their historic functions. But their proponents deduced from them a system of universal principles deemed to be everywhere valid, whatever the social and political conditions. In contrast, the practitioners of power politics deal in realities of the given time and place, and adapt their ideologies to changing conditions.

In elaborating these positions Professor Morgenthau offers a detailed analysis of political action. The object of politics is power. Political as well as other forms of action is essentially evil, being motivated by the self-interest of the actor, not the well-being of others. This is of a piece with the fact that frustration and tragedy are as characteristic of human life as reason and progress. Within national states violence has been subordinated to other forms of power; but power in its naked form will always dominate international relationships, for social and political conditions will forever prevent the establishment of a world federation capable of maintaining international peace.

Scientists are unable to cope with these realities, for their object is truth, not power. The implication is that science by its assumptions and methods is rendered incapable of discovering basic truth about power and power politics. We

must accordingly look to the statesman, the "more-than-scientific-man," for leadership in this realm. Only he can know "the eternal laws by which man moves in the social world"; through his insight and wisdom he "elevates his experiences into the universal laws of human nature."

These are among Morgenthau's leading ideas. The reviewer has attempted to present them in a fairly coherent form, although the work as a whole is full of contradictions and inconsistencies, and it is often impossible to tell what the author's position on a question may be. For example, after belaboring the dead or at least dying horse of rationalism for more than a hundred pages Morgenthau casually remarks (p. 122) that "psychology, sociology, as well as political science in its more advanced contributions, all supported by the religious, philosophic, and historic memory of the race, have well-nigh destroyed this conception." One is led to wonder what the furor is all about, for the book is evidently addressed to the practitioners of just those disciplines.

Much space is devoted to discussion of the social sciences, which is characterized by similar contradictions and inconsistencies. In one passage (p. 121), for example, these sciences are criticised for aiming at the kind of certainty the natural sciences formerly claimed for themselves; and in a later passage (p. 136) they are credited with discovering the same sorts of trends and probabilities as the natural sciences.

For all his contradictions and dubious doctrines, however, the author appears to be groping for a more comprehensive conception of man and his social world than any now in vogue. But beyond noting the great variety of factors and the complexities that must figure in such a conception his contribution must be counted a meager one.

SEBA ELDRIDGE

*University of Kansas*

*Max Weber and German Politics.* By J. P. MAYER. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1944. Pp. 124. 8s. 6d.

The growing recognition of Max Weber's contribution to social science should assure this scholarly work a serious scrutiny. Against a background of some—by no means all—of the important social developments in Germany from 1880 to 1920, Dr. Mayer discusses aspects of Weber's life and writings. He seeks thereby to illuminate German politics, in the belief that Weber next to Bismarck is the personality best

exemplifying the basic values and conflicts of modern Germany.

The work is a commentary rather than a treatise. It assumes in the reader a systematic knowledge of modern philosophy, social science, European history, and—Max Weber. Combining radically different approaches, descriptive biographical narration and analytical political sociology, the book achieves definitive success in neither. Evaluation of Weber's political science entails relating it (1) to the historical evolution of that science, and (2) to a comprehensive analytical theory of social action, since power is but one aspect of a social system. Surely the author should have introduced Weber's orienting of political elements to other social variables, especially to ultimate ends. A conception of a functioning social system would vastly strengthen Mayer's study. He misses, for example, Weber's vital distinction between coercion and legitimate authority. "Weber was unable to see the moral element inherent in any political power"—p. 45. Of such a pre-eminent (albeit turgid) work on Weber as that by Parsons, Mayer seems distressingly unaware.

Concerning German institutions, this book offers useful reiterations rather than new insights. Mayer points to such historically significant elements as Lutheranism, the absolute ethic of duty, and class structure. His brief statements have great pragmatic value for countering the many oversimplified popular notions about Germany, but they form neither a systematic outline of German social structure nor a full-length study of any specific element therein. German docility, for instance, is not attributable solely to Bismarck, Lutheranism, and universal military service (p. 60), but to a wide variety of social institutions and psychological mechanisms. Besides, docility is by no means a constant trait; it is a function of specific variables. The Germans, forsooth, are not always docile.

The obscurities in expression and the author's editorializing (e.g.—the comments on English social norms, p. 34) are minor failings. Although basically heterogeneous, the book displays erudition appropriate to the great tradition of its subject matter. ARTHUR K. DAVIS

*Harvard University*

*Foundations of the Measurement of Values.* By BERTHA B. FRIEDMAN. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1946. Pp. 227. \$2.75.

This is a significant study of some of the basic principles which undergird developments in the field of measurement of values. There is not much new material from experimental research but there is a penetrating analysis of the theory and concepts involved, and an evaluation of different types of value-measurement. While the writer assumes a *gestalt* point of view she acknowledges that it is impossible to get more than rough indices of personality as a whole or of controlling motives. Emphasizing the need for more cautious use of the varied specific scores that are being commonly derived, she shows the possibilities of getting value-patterns, or configurative descriptions of behavior.

The author takes the position that value is primarily in the individual and that it is directed toward objects rather than toward abstract qualities. While there is undoubtedly a genetic origin in innate preferences these are soon "canalized in the social process of habit formation." Educators should be concerned with the value-objects which hold interest and with the patterns of value-behavior. The comparative accuracy of verbal scales and those indicating observed behavior are examined but no clear differentiation is discovered. The primary need seems to be in development of clear continuums with scale scores giving empirical data. Verbal ratings require validation by some behavior criterion. Attention is directed to the fact that refinement of measurement is far less important than clarity of concepts of what is being measured and what differences signify.

The author reviews various attempts to name and classify values but finds no satisfactory set of categories. She points out the common errors which arise in using different types of scales but finds no principles to use in avoiding them. The fact seems to be continually evident that human behavior is too complex, and subject to too many conditioning factors, to be diagnosed and predicted by use of a few simple scale forms. The book may be disappointing to those who are searching for dependable measuring techniques but it is valuable to those who are ready to face the limitations of present analyses and indices. There are three factors which the writer believes most important in diagnosis of values but which are exceedingly difficult to allow for in measurement. (1) the fluctuating interests and motives of individuals; (2) the field of forces playing upon an object which attracts attention; and (3) the different values which an object may have for an indi-

vidual at different times and for different individuals.

In general the reviewer finds the study more of the type of "Excavations for Foundations" rather than "Foundations," but nevertheless distinctly valuable in an important field for both psychology and education.

ERNEST J. CHAVE

University of Chicago

*The Divine Right of Capital.* By C. E. AYRES. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1946. Pp. viii, 214. Price, \$3.00.

This book is a shorter and somewhat more "popularly" written version of the author's *Theory of Economic Progress*, 1944. It also places more emphasis on economic program, much abridging the historical and theoretical treatment. This background position is not essential to the argument on policy, but it is useful to have it in mind. The keynote is "simplicity." Everything is explained by two opposed principles, a "good" (progressive) one of technology, and its bad "adversary," institutions (Cf. Ormuzd and Ahriman, Jahweh, Satan). The summum bonum is production; to ask what is to be produced merely reflects the antiquated psychology of means and ends and exemplifies institutions opposing progress, the veneration of ancient abuses. Notions of wants and want-satisfaction are particularly abjured. All imputation of product, to factors or persons, is also a survival of mythology and sacramentalism. Technology itself does everything; inventions are made by the tools, not by men, or groups. "Capital" is identical with money, which is merely institutionalized power; it has only a "permissive" relation to production, like the vested right of a robber-baron to exact tribute. This "new way of thinking about economic problems" is contrasted with the "imaginary" concepts of the price-theory approach (Cf. atoms, fields of force or hyperspace, etc. in physical science; or genes in biology).

The application to the current situation is equally "simple." Our major trouble is that because of the "divine right of capital" to accumulate "funds" without either consuming or investing, our system of "absolute capitalism" does not distribute enough mass consumption purchasing power to absorb the product (of technology), resulting in unemployment and its attendant evils. And the remedy: "All that is necessary to do [and the only solution] is to redress very slightly the present flow of income"



(*Divine Right* p. 60, p. 88). Admittedly other problems would be left unsolved, such as inequality, but this is unimportant; if production is maintained, society can easily afford all the "obscene antics of the rich"; their scandalous waste is even beneficial in helping to match production with purchasing power.

One who has attempted to study the problems objectively may offer a few comments. First, it should be "simple" and "obvious" (another favorite word of the author) that *regular* oversaving might explain sustained depression, but not "boom," its actual and equally conspicuous counterpart, and causally inseparable. Secondly, regular oversaving (read "hoarding") not compensated by price adjustment (see below) would be *easily* corrected by the simplest measures of inflation; those who then elected to save in the form of hoarded purchasing power would merely donate that much to the rest of the economy; the necessary "cash" would be practically costless and the operation need not cause noticeable economic disturbance. Thirdly, deficiency of purchasing power is "obviously" a matter of price relations, chiefly prices of consumer goods *versus* wages, hence in the broad sense a monetary problem. (Real or physical income is arithmetically identical with consumption-plus-investment, as the Keynesians "supererogatorily" emphasize—it is from them that the "new idea" is taken, with little even of "simplification," in comparison with Sir William Beveridge in particular.) On the problem of money and prices the earlier book says not a word; in *The Divine Right* we find a few sentences (pp. 77, 110-11) so perfunctory and palably evasive that even a good Christian may be led to reflect on the motives back of the whole argument. Finally, whether hoarding causes unbalance and reduced activity still "obviously" depends, even when it occurs spasmodically, on what happens or doesn't happen to prices, and it would not do so under the "perfect market" that analytic theory must deal with as a first approximation. This fact defines the problem of depression or unemployment: to explain the market imperfections and prevent them or offset their bad effects—as far as can be done without giving rise to worse evils. It points to suitable action on the flow of money and the speculative expectations which play so large a role in production involving durable values, or any long term commitment.

Of the author's corrective policy, the cornerstone (following Beveridge) is a social-security

program financed by a progressive personal income tax (no reference to counteracting deflation). As regards the "very slight redress" (referred to above), the author himself tells us (*Divine Right*, p. 29—source of data not indicated) that accumulation of funds increases with prosperity and in 1929 was three times what investment could absorb: also (*op. cit.* p. 107) that income taxes now run up to about nine-tenths of income.

This review has not tried to be charitable, and may end with a confession; *peccavi*—and I felt that I was yielding to temptation in accepting the assignment. Professor Ayres had already published ample proof that one of us two knows less than nothing about economic theory, actual or possible (has more false knowledge than true); the only question is, which one. Simplicity is a blessed thing—unless it is simplism; but the discussion of intellectual and moral qualities of persons belongs to the confessional, the court-room and the psychological clinic, not to a book review in a learned journal. (And of course I could have found good things to say about the work without actually lying, and anyhow, excessive emphasis on "truth" as objective accuracy and relevance, in comparison with other values, is a vice of a scientific, commercial, active and progressive civilization.) But at least, the author himself set the example. The most characteristic sentence in the whole five hundred odd pages is the rhetorical question: "Why does the world so obstinately refuse to see . . . ?" (*Econ. Prog.* p. 281). And the author spells out the answer: "simply and solely because the facts are embarrassing to absolute capitalism" (*Divine Right*, p. 112). I may at least observe—with the "colorless objectivity" for which our author's patron Saint Veblen is justly famous—that these books and this review together indicate the most important fact about education in economics today: like charity, it should begin at home. The primary issue is whether it shall take the philistine, or pragmatic-political, view of analysis and replace fact and interpretation with philia and (especially) phobia, and rabble-rousing for some interest or cause, at a literary level adapted to the particular rabble selected to be worked on.

FRANK H. KNIGHT

*The University of Chicago*

*Religion in Economics, A Study of John Bates Clark, Richard T. Ely, Simon N. Patten.* By JOHN RUTHERFORD EVERETT. New York:

King's Brown Press, 1946. xiii + 160 Pp.  
\$2.50 (Paper).

This work discusses the "religious" view of these three American economists who were most influential at the turn of the century and shows how economics and religion joined together in their fundamental philosophies. All three came directly or indirectly out of pious New England families of middle-class backgrounds, although only one, Clark, was reared in New England. All secured graduate work in German universities in the Bismarkian pietistic period. All were scholars in the broad meaning of the term and were contemporaries of America's corporate capitalistic gilded age (between the Civil War and World War I). All of them seemed to sense the decadence of that period of exploitation but were optimistic in the hope that a fine sense of social responsibility of the ethical type emphasized by Christ and St. Paul would pull exploitative capitalism out of its morass. None were apparently prepared to envisage the great breakdown of all social and economic values of the second third of our own century.

This is a good book and deserves reading. The relation of a general system of social values to social science (the tools and the know-how) is apparently less understood today than it was by these three masters. Much of our "mugwump" social science (Patten's word) pays lip service to this by reiterative references to Max Weber but few face the real issue as it exists today.

With apologies to the hymns of Patten it might be said as follows:

Social science mugwumps do not now  
Follows where Christ's  
And John Bates Clark's  
And Richard Theodore Ely's  
And Simon Nelson Patten's  
And, partly, John Rutherford Everett's  
Feet have trod.  
But these new "scientists"  
Haven't put us any nearer  
In our ascent to God.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Harvard University

*Social Institutions.* By J. O. HERTZLER. University of Nebraska Press, 1946. xii + 346 Pp.  
\$4.00.

This is a greatly expanded as well as revised version of the author's book of the same name published in 1929. It covers every aspect of the theory of institutions. The contributions of

all authorities are dealt with in a scholarly manner.

The weakness of the treatment stems from its eclectic character. Since sociologists do not agree with respect to what, precisely, an institution is, and since the author refrains from imposing a sharp definition of his own, there is no clear focus. The attempt to work out a complete theory with a central concept that is fuzzy is bound to be unsatisfactory. The result is a compendium of statements about institutions from every conceivable angle which is encyclopedic rather than incisive. Only rarely does the author offer a critique of others' contributions.

The readers who are most likely to find *Social Institutions* useful are first-year graduate students desirous of acquaintance with the state of sociological thought in this field. The book is probably too "scholarly" for an undergraduate text.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

*Introductory Sociology.* By RAYMOND W. MURRAY. F. S. Crofts & Co., New York: 1946. 2nd ed., 990 Pp. xii.

*Sociology.* By RICHARD T. LAPIERE. McGraw Hill, New York: 1946. 572 Pp. xiv.

*Sociology.* By W. F. OGBURN and M. F. NIMKOFF. Houghton Mifflin Co., Cambridge: 1946. New Impression, 953 Pp. xiv.

#### The Intent

What purposes should be served by an introductory sociology text remains a highly moot question, judging by the diversity of approaches of existing books in the field. The three under review: a new one, the La Piere; a major revision, the Murray; and a new impression, the Ogburn and Nimkoff, do not reduce the number of alternative possibilities.

The simplest way of stating the ends which each can serve might be to say: (1) if the instructor wants an encyclopedic body of data about the United States culture, casually articulated on a skeleton of theory, the Ogburn and Nimkoff will serve; (2) if the instructor wants to exert a genuine effort at giving the student a systematic theory of society, the La Piere book will serve as an admirable basis of departure; or (3) if the instructor is teaching at a Catholic university or high school where he feels required to use a body of data and theory judiciously selected to harmonize with Catholic dogma, the Murray volume is adequate.

### The Formal Structure

The table of contents of the Ogburn and Nimkoff remains unchanged. The revision consists primarily in the inclusion of some additional 1940 and 1945 census data.

The Murray volume closely follows the Ogburn and Nimkoff, at least in the names of sections and chapters. The principal *nominal* differences are in the first section, called "The Study of Sociology," containing chapters on The Nature and Development of Sociology and The Catholic View Point in Sociology; and in the last section, a bow toward social problems is made in the inclusion of three chapters on Social Disorganization, Poverty and Dependency, and Crime and Punishment, collectively labeled "Social Maladjustments."

The La Piere text departs from expectations by devoting considerable space to a theory of dynamic social equilibrium, and by presenting chapters on subjects not usually considered at chapter length: e.g., Ideology, Science and the Arts, Communication, Technology, and Transportation. The La Piere volume is identical with the Murray, and in sharp contrast to the Ogburn and Nimkoff, in the total absence of any charts, graphs, tables or illustrations.

### The Content

Since the Ogburn and Nimkoff has had such long and wide circulation, any critical comment at this juncture would be gratuitous. The present edition in no way occasions a revision of existing estimates.

The Murray volume, a 1946 revision of a 1935 edition, is not in any sense a competitor with standard texts in secular sociology. For it bears the imprimatur of Archbishop Spellman, and it is clear that the imprimatur is richly merited. As the author says in the preface to this present edition:

"The book attempts to present the fundamental sociological facts and concepts in a Catholic philosophical setting. As Monsignor William J. Kerby said in his gracious introduction to the first edition, the book undertakes to bring sociology 'into relation with the fundamentals of Catholic social belief.'"

One must admire the degree to which this volume does about as good a job of introducing sociology as could reasonably be expected in a book limited by the necessity of remaining in consonance with Catholic dogma. It is a serious question, however, whether this latter restraint only limits the sociological fertility

of the volume, or whether, additionally, it thoroughly emasculates the book as a text in science. On this issue it is perhaps best to let the book speak for itself and the readers judge for themselves. Thus, in the section entitled "Methodology of Catholic Sociology," we read:

"The so-called psychological, cultural, or the methodological approaches to sociology are pursued, but always within the framework of a philosophy whose 'preconceived notions' include the existence of God, divine revelation, objective mortality, conscience, free will, grace, and belief in man's future destiny in a divine order."

In the concluding paragraph of the chapter on "The Family," we are told:

(p. 833) "Catholics believe (p. 834) that if a notable improvement in present conditions is to take place it will not be merely because of the recognition of the baneful effects of present marriage practices upon the nation's welfare, but rather because of the re-acceptance of the old truth that God, the Author of man, knows better than anyone else what makes for human welfare. As Father Scott has well said, relative to discussions about permanent monogamous marriage, 'It all comes to this: Is Christ God, and has He proclaimed the indissolubility of the marriage bond? If God has made matrimony a sacred contract dissoluble by death only, that ends the matter, as far at least as a Christian is concerned.'"

A further departure from the scientifically expectable is to be found in the sources used as authoritative reference. Thus Dorothy Dix is approvingly cited five times, on the explicit grounds that she "as a result of securing hundreds of thousands of letters from the 'lovelorn' probably understands American marriage problems as well as most professional sociologists." (p. 812). Moreover, the *Reader's Digest* is also approvingly cited as frequently, if not more so, than the *American Sociological Review*, causing this writer to wonder whether the *Review*, or at least some of the more daring issues are officially banned. Of further interest to professional secular sociologists will be the exercises at the end of the book, which contain the following, not too atypical, specimens:

"How is secularistic sociology indirectly and perhaps unwittingly paving the way for communism or fascism in the United States?" (p. 924)

"What is the caricature of free will presented by the secularistic sociologist? Explain the Catholic concept as applied to a particular situation." (p. 926)

After these citations, it is perhaps unnecessary to point out that any resemblances between this

volume and a secular sociology text are formal and superficial.

Perhaps, to borrow a phrase from Father Scott, "it all comes to this": If you set out to write a sociology text which will harmonize with Catholic dogma, it is difficult to avoid ending with a text on Catholic dogma which is selectively informed by sociological tidbits.

#### Some Theoretical Considerations

The La Piere book, by contrast, is worth serious attention by theory-minded sociologists. There is a penetrating concern for an adequate theory of social structure and function, marked by an awareness of the valuations implicit in existing sociological theorizing. It tries, meticulously, to avoid the valuational pitfall by substituting for such value-laden concepts as social organization and disorganization a presumably value-free concept of functional, dynamic equilibrium. Thus, for instance:

"The tendency for societies to move toward a state of functional equilibrium is the corrective for the fact that any change disturbs the functional effectiveness of the existing social structure. As a consequence, adaptive changes may bring a better equilibrium within one component system and at the same time inadvertently increase the disequilibrium of the whole society." (p. 170)

It is questionable, however, whether the terms equilibrium and disequilibrium are anything more than refreshing synonyms for the terms "organization" and "disorganization." It is questionable, in short, whether the theoretical structure of the La Piere book, inasmuch as it is built, like an inverse pyramid, upon the point of equilibrium, is any more solid a structure on which to lean than that of other texts in the field.

This much, however, may be said with certainty: there is a very satisfying awareness of problems which the construction of social theory necessarily presents to the sociologists.

For this reason, among others, the La Piere book commends itself to the attention of energetic instructors. Thus if the La Piere book is used, the instructor will find it a pleasant classroom assignment to discuss human nature because there is real argumentative richness in the La Piere point of view, to wit:

"Whether any specific behavior is an attribute of individuality or of human nature depends upon what the norm is for the particular group. Whereas it is a human-nature attribute for an Eskimo to prefer blubber to cheese, a similar preference would be an attribute of individuality, in an American, since

such a preference would be a violation of the American's social training." (p. 53)

The implications of this reversal of traditional metaphor, and its implied extreme cultural relativism, should provide the instructor with fertile discussion material.

The book will be hard to teach. But serious attention to the matter, because the book itself is so serious and mature, should prove more than rewarding. The very adequate supplementary bibliographies will render the technical aspects of introducing sociology somewhat less tedious than usual.

MELVIN TUMIN

Wayne University

*Science and Freedom.* By LYMAN BRYSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. 191. \$2.75.

In *Science and Freedom* Dr. Bryson presents his argument that the good society can be achieved by man. The good society would be one marked by freedom, in which there would be an untrammelled application of science to the affairs of man, and in which there would be an attempt to control social change in terms of deliberate choice made between means in order to reach the desired end of freedom. In such a discussion much depends upon what is meant by the key concepts of freedom, science, social change, culture, and good society.

Dr. Bryson means by the term freedom, "... the social conditions in which there are enough normal choices of behavior patterns open to every person to allow for experiment, and change, and diversity, both in the successive experiences of individual persons and also among different persons in the group" (p. 3). A free society is one in which there is a rich variety of normalities. Freedom in this sense is to be found in the modern world in what is usually called democracy. Dr. Bryson thus seems to make freedom, free society, and democracy to be synonymous.

He names his viewpoint "scientific humanism" and argues for the same scientific analysis of people and social relations as has been applied to "things." One must agree, it seems to this reviewer, with his position that we have not had enough science applied to our social relations, rather than too much, as is claimed by some persons (pp. 178-180).

A valuable addition to the book would have been an analysis as to just how scientific humanism is to be reached. The reviewer, at least,



finished the book with the sense of having read a speculative essay pitched to a high moral tune. In addition, one can legitimately differ from Dr. Bryson's conceptions of science and culture. For instance, to say "science is a spirit, a set of mental habits, an institution for investigation and control, and it is, or has been up to now, a "Western character" is to misread Dr. Bryson's source, Edgar Zilsel. The latter was concerned with modern (since 1600 A.D.), organized science, of which we are conscious. Zilsel made no such claim for science as a way of human conduct. Defining science as Zilsel thought of it, one may say that it is the means by which man transforms his environment, including his own social relations. As such, science is both a set of mental habits, an organization of modifiable knowledge, and a set of changing tools. Defined in this way, scientific behavior is one of the most ancient and indestructible forms of human behavior. Its minimum form is that empirical knowledge which allows a given society to live from generation to generation. It is thus found in a more or less developed form among all peoples. One rejects then, Dr. Bryson's allegation that man had poetry and philosophy long before he did any scientific thinking. Rejection is also in order for the claim that it is indeed "... possible to contemplate without tragic horror, the possibility that science is only a brief and sterile interlude in human annals, brief because objective thinking is too difficult, and sterile by token of leaving no trace" (p. 71).

One concludes from this view of culture and its relation to social engineering that the effectuation of the objectives of scientific humanism is dependent only upon changing men's minds. A valid sociological analysis would hold that the general conditions of social existence should have to be changed. This would include the "material" as well as the "mental." Perhaps the reviewer is doing an injustice to Dr. Bryson on this point; the reader of the book can judge for himself.

Dr. Bryson's discussion of slavery and caste (pp. 42-50) is almost wholly repugnant to this reviewer: caste in its origin in India may have been a wise adjustment, just as slavery was a progressive invention (p. 45)! However, his discussion of Aristotle and Plato, particularly the latter, as being opposed to freedom as we understand it in a democracy, is most refreshing.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

Wayne University

*Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Reference Guide.* By BRUCE LANNES SMITH, HAROLD D. LASSWELL, and RALPH D. CASEY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. viii, 435 Pp. \$5.00.

A fairly comprehensive list of books on propaganda, communication, and public opinion includes a number of the most substantial titles in social psychology. Like its predecessor, *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography* (University of Minnesota Press, 1935), the second Smith-Lasswell-Casey volume will therefore be of interest to social psychologists and sociologists generally as well as to those specializing in what the authors call "the science of mass communication."

The volume contains some 3,000 titles carefully arranged and annotated, plus an author and subject index. The previous book had about 4,500 titles in it, but the present one gains by space given to more adequate annotations. The titles deal with technique, strategy, parties, pressure groups, propaganda goals, channels of communication, communication specialists, measurement problems and techniques, and control and censorship. Any student of social problems will find here helpful suggestions on theory, movements, and public policies. Although the titles are drawn chiefly from the period mid-1934 to about March 1943, outstanding items from before 1934 are also listed.

In the first part of the book, the authors present introductory essays. Casey has written on "Communication Channels," Smith on "The Political Communication Specialist of Our Times," and Lasswell on "Describing the Contents of Communications" and "Describing the Effects of Communications." Casey analyzes the significance of technological developments and trends toward monopoly in communication channels in a most useful summary of evidence. Lasswell brings together his views and those of other psychologists and psychiatrists on the contents and effects of communications. For all his documented erudition, he apparently still thinks of society as consisting of a number of psychological entities, not of persons variously organized and variously related to culture and subcultures.

From several approaches, these essays all touch most stimulatingly on the problem that, despite atomic bombs and devastating wars, still remains a crucial and unsolved one: the

role of aggressive power-seeking in human society. Trying to whistle as he passes what evidently looks to him like a graveyard, Smith concludes his essay by saying, "In so far as freedom from propaganda monopolies can be guaranteed, and mass education can be expanded along such lines as we have indicated, we may have confidence that free men's criticism will outweigh whatever propaganda may be issued by a would-be Bonaparte." He forgets that in this year (1947) of huge mass enterprises—the N.A.M., American Legion, and Rankin Committee on the one hand and the C.I.O. and A.F.L. on the other as samples—"mass education" is creating in the United States a degree of intellectual orthodoxy never achieved in Hitler's Reich by "mass propaganda." But this does not worry Smith because he is convinced that propaganda only deals with "controversial issues" while education handles "non-controversial" matters, attitudes, and skills.

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

Wayne University

*The Psychology of Adolescence.* By KARL C. GARRISON, Third Edition. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946. Pp. viii + 355.

*Children of the Cumberland.* By CLAUDIA LEWIS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. xvii + 217.

The first edition of *The Psychology of Adolescence* appeared in January, 1934, and went through three printings before its revision in July, 1940. After five printings, the second edition has given way to the third, the subject of this review.

The scope of the present edition is comprehensive. Practically every topic featured by students of adolescence is discussed. The author draws heavily on the results of quantitative investigations and throughout gives his presentation a practical slant. He is successful in avoiding controversy and borrows from any source and any viewpoint which throws light on the subject. This volume is essentially a textbook survey of adolescence designed for the level of senior college students. It may surprise some sociologists to see so much sociology in a "psychology" of the second decade; it may distress others not to see more.

In addition to a copy of the Vineland Social Maturity Scale, the appendix contains two helpful annotated bibliographies: one, a list of technical references, and the other, a selection of literature related to adjustment during adolescence. On the whole the book is well done

and is a competent introduction to the field.

From this discussion of a comprehensive study of adolescence we turn to a study of the influence of comparative cultures on child development. *Children of the Cumberland* grew out of the experience of an observing young lady who having begun her career as a teacher in the Harriet Johnson Nursery School in Greenwich Village, New York City, set up a nursery school in a village of the Cumberland Plateau in Tennessee. The author devotes one chapter to the New York City school and the remaining chapters to the Tennessee school and some reflections on the ways in which growing up in the Cumberlands differs from growing up in Greenwich Village. Let the author speak for herself: "I was accustomed to the spirited ways of children whose urges to rebel were frequently strong and compelling. . . . And my experience had led me to . . . find among the persistent rebellors a few . . . 'difficult' children. Why was there so little rebellion in the mountains? . . . What was the meaning of their outwardly peaceful, placid, behavior?" (p. xviii).

After 146 pages of participant observing the author tries to answer her own questions in a provocative chapter entitled "What Does It Mean?" She examines the influence of play space, climate, intelligence, nutrition, and lack of time sense. She is, however, most impressed by a relative absence of restriction in the life of the Cumberland child. "His long natural babyhood of close proximity to his mother; his privilege of suckling at the breast at any time, even long after he is eating solid foods others eat; the late-begun and simply-managed matter of toilet training; the few prohibitions . . . the relatively little insistence on washing, keeping clean; the space in the yard that is his to play about in, and especially the presence of both his parents, and the fact that he is not shut out from their life or their emotions, not deprived of their company day or night, not told he must stay home, go to bed, keep away—all these things make his young childhood a time of ease." (p. 156).

Nowhere is the discussion dogmatic. It bristles with questions about family life in New York City and Tennessee, with both situations receiving a fair share of misgiving and support. The author admits there is no turning back the clock of our machine civilization, but she believes that Cumberland life has one superior ingredient namely, the impartation of warmth and love to child growth.

This is both an interesting and a significant

study. Its interest lies in the sixteen pages of revealing photographs and in the use of rich life history material. Its significance lies in its light on fundamental problems of adjustment. Some may be disappointed in its lack of quantitative data. But it presents a convincing case for the point that "*studies of children should be studies of children in their life situations.*" For this reason it has an important bearing on the future of research in the field of child development.

HOWARD Y. MCCLUSKY

University of Michigan

*Hawaii's Japanese.* By ANDREW W. LIND. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. viii + 264. \$3.00.

*The Chrysanthemum and the Sword.* By RUTH BENEDICT. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946. Pp. 324. \$3.00.

Professor Lind reports on the situation of the Japanese in Hawaii during World War II. Professor Benedict analyses the old country of these Hawaiian residents.

*Hawaii's Japanese* is primarily a reporting job to the American population at large in answer to the persistent question, "What of the Japanese Residents?" As such it is concerned largely with the interactions between the Japanese community and the Caucasian or Haole community just before, during and just after the war with Japan.

The report includes a useful introductory summary of prewar attitudes, and a good chapter on the mushrooming of fifth column rumors after December 7 which were soon officially denied by the local intelligence agencies but which had a life of their own and played a part in bringing about the evacuation of mainland Japanese and Japanese Americans from the West Coast. After this nadir in prestige the Japanese community gradually recovered public esteem on the basis of the general law abidingness of the Issei and the active co-operation in the war effort of the Nisei. Finally, with the army policy of first admitting Nisei volunteers and later re-establishing the regular draft of Japanese Americans on the same basis as other Americans, the position and security of the local Japanese reached its zenith. The excellent record of the 100th Battalion and the 442nd Combat Team had a good deal to do with this rise.

With the end of the war new crises arose and Professor Lind describes and analyses the break in morale of the Issei following the utter defeat

of their homeland. One result of this defeat was the springing up of unorthodox religious movements having as their dogma the idea that Japan did not lose the war and that the Japanese spirit is superior to all others. These movements drew fire from the larger American community and also from the returning Nisei veterans who saw their newly won prestige going up in smoke. As of late 1946 the messianic movements were on the wane and orthodox Buddhist priests were reappearing to provide for the spiritual needs of the older generation, but with the postwar reconversion of social relations and the general difficulties of the returned veterans in coming to terms with life in postwar Hawaii, the future status of the Japanese community remained in doubt. There was already a drop from the high prestige level of 1945 and there was no sure way to foretell future relations in the face of shifting economic and political conditions.

The book demonstrates, among other things, the strength of a public attitude. In Hawaii there is a sort of official public attitude that race relations are harmonious and democratic. During the entire war, despite many private and unpublicized floutings of this dogma, there was at no time a public breaking of this sentiment—no local business organization such as the Chamber of Commerce, no labor union, and no educational or religious body made any public statements critical of a racial group as such. Army officers in charge in Hawaii believed that the public's and the authorities' expectation of loyalty on the part of the Japanese would increase and strengthen the actual loyalty behavior of the population of Japanese ancestry. Lind feels that subsequent events proved that the officers in charge were correct in this regard. He points out some of the evidence and indicates, for instance, that the great positive response to the army volunteer program in 1944 in Hawaii, in contrast to the rather negative response in mainland relocation centers, is in part attributable to the fact that Hawaii—publicly at least—assumed loyalty whereas, by the act of relocation, the mainland assumed disloyalty.

*The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* provides the background for understanding some of the behavior of the Japanese in Hawaii. For example, the law abidingness of the first generation and the determination of the second to make good soldiers are both instances of behavior calculated to "clear one's name" in the larger community. Professor Benedict's primary

aim is to analyse the cultural values of the Japanese in Japan as a means of explaining their behavior in war and in peace. The book is the outgrowth of a study begun as a war project to aid in a government program of psychological warfare against Japan.

The extensive treatment of the varied forms of social obligation and duty toward various family members and toward the nation as a whole with the Emperor conceived of as the nation's father provides a good background for understanding the behavior of Japanese soldiers and civilians in wartime and their reactions to various postwar conditions. Dr. Benedict has done a cultural analysis of Japan in this book comparable to, but more extensive than the pattern analyses of primitive societies which she made in *Patterns of Culture*.

The time has certainly come to take such studies of national cultural patterns even though we do not always have all the necessary evidence and sometimes must depend on secondary sources. One weak point in the present study is the repetition of certain remarks made by Geoffrey Gorer in his pioneer analysis of Japanese child-training. It is doubtful, for example, whether it is a general trait of childhood training in Japan to tell children not to walk on sills or to regard the house as dangerous. On the contrary the house is a very safe place protected by grandmother and by the ancestral spirits. Nor do we have adequate evidence to indicate whether or not toilet training is any more rigid in Japan than in Western culture.

Such overgeneralization is perhaps inevitable in any analysis which stresses national cultural patterns. It is still, unfortunately, true in the field of social studies that the simpler and broader a generalization about behavior, the more likely it is to be in error when it comes to application to the individual case. Japan has a number of national traits, yet each region has its own customs. The problem is to separate the national traits such as stress on family obligation from regional custom such as avoiding stepping on a lintel (about on a par with not stepping on a sidewalk crack in some regions of Western culture). The everpresent danger is to attribute national trait significance to a regional culture trait. At present the only way to know the difference is to accumulate comparative data on the basis of a series of field studies in different areas of the culture in question. So far these are lacking for Japan.

*The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* is an

illuminating study based on available data in the United States as of 1946. It provides a valuable set of generalizations for any future field work in the Japanese area. It should also be of great assistance to any Westerner who must live in Japan either as an occupation official, a business man or a diplomat. If we Americans had taken the trouble to analyse Japanese culture—as Professor Benedict has done—before the war instead of making wisecracks about the paradoxical natives, there is a bare possibility that Pearl Harbor might have been avoided.

JOHN F. EMBREE

*University of Hawaii*

*Mexico South: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec.*

By MIGUEL COVARRUBIAS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. Pp. xxviii + 427 + viii. 91 line drawings. 8 color plates. 93 photographic plates. \$7.50.

*Mexico South* does not cover all of southern Mexico but centers, as the secondary title suggests, on an area somewhat neglected by scholars, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. It is easy to understand why the first printing of this book sold out rapidly. The clear, vigorous prose, illustrated with paintings and drawings by the author and with photographs by Rose Covarrubias and others, make it recreational reading.

As long as Covarrubias describes what he has actually seen, interest remains high: his journey from Vera Cruz to the Isthmus, the phosphorescent Cocuyo beetles which are worn alive by local girls as hair or dress decorations, the houses and costumes of the Indian village of Cosoleacaque illustrated with a brightly colored painting, a word picture of Catholic saints "gone native" (p. 42), a trip into the virgin jungles with their wealth of plant and animal life. But when he makes substantial use of secondary sources in describing Indian groups, archaeological stages or historical struggles, reader interest and sociological significance wane.

About half of the book is devoted to firsthand observations, drawings, painting and photographs showing the present-day life and customs of the Zapotec Indians on the "Pacific plains" of the Isthmus. This is Covarrubias' contribution to the social scientist.

The ecological structure of Juchitán, "a great sprawling town of over 20,000 pure or nearly pure Zapotec Indian inhabitants," corresponds to the older pattern that was widely characteristic of Mexican cities both in pre-Cortesian and



colonial times. Those who live in the center of town are "merchants and shopkeepers, the 'better' families"; those who live away from the center are plebeian in social status.

To the resident of Mexico City, a *tehuana*, i.e., a woman of Tehuantepec, is "as romantic and attractive a subject as a South Sea maiden to an adolescent American" (p. 246). And yet "to be slim in Tehuantepec is a sign of poor health and women compliment each other with, 'How fat and luxuriant you look'" (p. 244). "The frankness of Zapotec women, their rather loose use of strong language, and their social and economic independence give them a position of equality with men, and a self-reliance that is unique in Mexico" (p. 339). There is, however, a difference in the childhood training of the two sexes. Boys usually go about completely naked until ten, stay out all day playing with their friends and go to bed whenever they are tired. Girls wear only red panties at home, stay close to their mothers, and when they go out dress fully in the distinctive *tehuana* costume.

Covarrubias suggests the "village store as an index to the economic acculturation of an Indian community" (p. 283). The storekeeper must keep in stock everything not locally made for which there is a demand. In a remote but prosperous Indian village he noted such imported items as machetes, shovels, flashlights, mousetraps, Chicago corned beef, canned peaches, beer and mezcal.

In a discussion of Zapotec amusements, Covarrubias makes the observation: "In recent years the sports club and the labor and political organizations have provided an antidote to the barroom, and now young men pass Sunday playing soccer, baseball or basketball instead of going to church or getting drunk" (p. 305).

A glossary of terms, a detailed bibliography and an index are helpful additions.

Students who are interested in making larger use of documentary pictures can get many suggestions from Covarrubias.

NORMAN S. HAYNER

University of Washington

*American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Progress.* By EVELYN C. ADAMS. Introduction by JOHN COLLIER. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. xiv + 122. \$2.25.

The author calls her book a "skeletal outline" of the varying programs adapted to resolve the

conflict between European and Indian cultures. John Collier emphasizes the need for a more comprehensive and analytical study but also says, "It is my impression that such a superseding work may not be forthcoming for many years."

After a brief description of the colonial efforts at Indian education, Mrs. Adams discusses the various programs of the federal government: 1789-1830, small subsidies to missionaries; 1830-1845, the Period of Removal, manual labor schools, mostly controlled by missionaries; 1845-1870, national expansion and military control which almost exterminated the Indians; 1870-1921, full federal responsibility. During this period, the Agency Boarding School was developed under the theory that the Indian cultures should be eliminated as completely as possible and the Indians "civilized." The missionary influence was strong—as it still is. Many of these boarding schools were little short of forced labor camps under semi-penal conditions; teaching was poor; discipline was tough; medical care was mediocre or nonexistent; corruption and incompetence were rampant. From 1887 to 1921, under the allotment system, tens of millions of acres of the best Indian lands got into the hands of the whites at criminally low prices. The Indians became continually more depraved, diseased, dependent, and worthless. The one bright note in this was the attempt of Supt. Hailmann (1893-97) to displace the boarding schools by public and day schools, but as late as 1926 over four-fifths of the students were still in Agency schools. The school jail was not abolished till 1927.

Partly as a result of the Meriam Report of 1928, considerable improvement was made from 1929 to 1933. This laid the foundation for the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the first socially intelligent attempt to make the Indian an active participant in working out his own destiny in relation to the culture of his white "brothers." It was directed by John Collier, who had devoted many years to the study of Indian affairs, and Harold Ickes, one of our ablest administrators. Space prevents an adequate review of their achievements, but it is an inspiring story to all who have faith in democracy. The death rate fell 53 per cent; in 1944 only a quarter as many school children had trachoma as in 1932; schools were greatly improved both as to personnel and program; enrollment increased greatly and illiteracy decreased; by 1940, 60 per cent of the employees

in the Indian Service were Indians. Between 1932 and 1944 the total income from all livestock increased fifteen times. Instead of the annual land loss to the Indians of two million acres, which had prevailed since 1887, there was a gain of over three million acres during the period. Perhaps the most significant change was the replacement of paternalism by Indian self-government and responsibility.

The Indians can still make many valuable contributions to our culture if the policies of the Reorganization Act are honestly and intelligently carried out. Unfortunately, there are already some indications that this may not happen. Cultures are stable and stubborn and it is an open question whether our pattern of exploitive destruction of the Indian cultures really has been reversed. We have made a good start with the Indians under the Reorganization Act; it would be a shame not to carry on.

READ BAIN

Miami University  
Oxford, Ohio

*The Negro People in America.* By HERBERT APTHEKER, with an introduction by DOXEY WILKERSON. New York: International Publishers, 1946. Pp. 80. \$1.25.

In this book, Dr. Aptheker presents an evaluation of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. He concludes that Dr. Myrdal's philosophy is superficial and erroneous, his historiography demonstrably false, his ethics vicious, and, therefore, his analysis weak, mystical, and dangerous! This is, of course, quite an indictment. The evaluation is alleged to be based upon Marxism.

However, in the introduction it is claimed that "*The Negro people are oppressed because the rulers of our society find it highly profitable to oppress them.* In terms of fundamental motivations, the explanation of the Negro question is as simple as that . . ." (p. 8). Aptheker never repudiates this naïve position, with its complete disregard of the institutional character of anti-Negro discrimination. Consequently, the effect of several valid points which Aptheker makes against Myrdal is vitiated.

The approach taken in this book is not, in this reviewer's opinion, a Marxist one.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

Wayne University

*Social Insight Through Short Stories.* Edited by JOSEPHINE STRODE. New York: Harper, 1946. Pp. x + 285. \$3.00.

Were it not for its pretentious title and preface, this collection of short stories could be left for the literary critics to evaluate. But Miss Strode has seen fit to claim for it a social and educational significance that should certainly not go unchallenged. The stories are intended to serve as supplementary reading in courses in sociology, psychology, social work, etc. Says Miss Strode, "They will . . . make the acquiring of social insight a pleasurable experience."

That insight into social matters can be acquired by any form of vicarious symbolic experience is still to be proved. That it could not possibly be acquired by the reading of the short stories in this collection should, however, be readily apparent. The twenty-six stories in this volume have in common a somewhat sentimental concern for the plight of society's less fortunate or more incompetent members, and most of them have considerable entertainment value; but they do not provide symbolic representations of socially significant facts. As all stories must do, if they are to be stories and not documents, those in this collection provide dramatically distorted views of some persons or social circumstances that are markedly atypical.

In dramatizing, an author necessarily selects from all the things that go to make up a human being or a life situation those few that are pertinent to his story. To imagine that "social insight" can be secured through the reading of stories, short or long, is thus to ignore the artificiality of the storytelling process. The function of a story is to entertain. A story cannot in any significant measure inform or otherwise educate, Miss Strode and some others to the contrary.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

*20th Century Political Thought.* Edited by JOSEPH S. ROUCEK. New York: Philosophical Library. 1946. 655 pp. \$6.00.

This is a collection of 28 articles by 27 authors, two of them by Dr. Roucek. The plan of the volume involves (1) a topical treatment of significant developments in the general field, and (2) a survey of political thought in nine special areas of the world, not counting soviet communism, fascism, and nazism, which come in the topical list.

Among the other topics covered are various forms of collectivism, changing concepts of sovereignty, growth of nationalism, imputed roles of political élites, international law, religion, agrarianism, militarism, geopolitics, public

opinion and propaganda. The special areas include the Far East, Latin America, Britain, France, Scandinavia, and other parts of Europe.

Each author goes his way with little reference to the others, except that involved in the assignment of fields and topics. Consequently the volume is not an integrated body of subject-matter, and it must therefore be appraised as a collection of essays. As would be expected, these differ greatly in value and significance. On the basis of purely personal impressions nine of the essays may be rated as excellent, five as poor, and the other 14 as coming between these extremes.

Emphasis falls on political thought in the conventional sense. Only a few of the authors have the grounding in sociology and social theory to analyze political ideas in terms of their cultural and institutional contexts. This may account in part for the virtual omission of important topics. The impact of specialized social movements on political action is but little recognized. Party organization in democratic countries is hardly mentioned. There are fragmentary discussions of special-interest groups but no adequate treatment of their role in political democracies. Despite considerable attention to education and public opinion in politics, the crucial role of the private citizen and the movements to enhance his power through organization are nowhere recognized. True, the volume does not pretend to be an original contribution on these or other topics, but it does purport to offer a balanced survey of political thought in the twentieth century, which it obviously fails to do.

On top of all this the book swarms with typographical errors, and some of the chapters are marred by *grammatical* errors. Evidently no provision was made for expert copy- and proof-reading.

For all these faults, however, the book has a certain value. It gives at least some notion of recent developments in the several fields covered. Moreover, the essays by David Fellman on Racism, M. Q. Sibley on Modern Universalism, P. B. Potter on International Law, G. S. Pettie on Politics and Semantics, and some four or five others are excellent discussions. Whether, in terms of its stated objectives, the volume will prove acceptable as a textbook or as an "informative introduction" for the lay reader is in the reviewer's opinion open to doubt.

SEBA ELDRIDGE

University of Kansas

*The Faith of a Liberal.* By MORRIS R. COHEN.  
New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1946.

This volume contains a series of reprints of essays by its distinguished author on the general subject of Liberalism, covering a period from the close of the first World War to the early 1940's. Within the author's perspective a great variety of subjects is included, such as law, economics, politics, science, literature, philosophy and education. There is displayed in all these fields not only a breadth and depth of erudition, but also a vital contact with reality. Moreover, despite the wide range of interest, the whole work is given a unity through Professor Cohen's concept of liberalism as a way of life and thought. It apparently means to him rationality, tolerance, freedom and humane sympathy. The chief obstacles to such qualities of mind are dogma and prejudice, and these are vigorously attacked wherever they appear in law, science, religion or other fields.

An adequate coverage of the rich content of the essays in this volume is not possible in a brief review. One may indicate only a few clues. In the essay on *Three Great Judges—Holmes, Brandeis and Cardozo* he contrasts Holmes' defense of freedom of thought with his outworn individualism. Brandeis and Cardozo are much more aware of modern economic realities, and the need for a modification of classical economic theories. The politico-economic essays reveal the author as favorable to some type of evolutionary socialism, free from the dogmas of communism. There are forthright criticisms of the legal disposal of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and of the handling of the Bertrand Russell affair by the New York Board of Higher Education. On the subject of American literature Professor Cohen rejects the vogue of economic determinism in literary criticism, so prevalent a few decades ago. On the other hand, he has a great liking for Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought*. There are also stimulating but critical essays on Dante and Heine. The discussions of *Education* might well be pondered by those who today are concerned with the revamping of college curricula. In this field he holds that some compromise can be effected between democratic trends and the classical tradition. Very appropriately the author contends for the importance of philosophy in education, but rather as a stimulus to independent thinking, than as an academic lump of doctrine or dogma. Of further interest in philosophy are the essays on White-

head and James. Numerous phases of *Religion* come in for treatment from Spinoza's *Intellectual Love of God* to *Baseball as a National Religion*! The latter is not so facetious as it sounds, for it suggests (a la William James) that if only Moscow and New York could meet up in the World Series, things might go better in the Peace Conference. Acute comments are made upon the tribal aspects of Zionism, and a somber, though not devastating, appraisal is made of the *Darker Side of Religion*. The volume concludes with a mildly hopeful discussion of *The Future of American Liberalism*. Altogether a good book for sociologists who are not immune from the intellectual sins so skillfully deplored in this volume.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD

University of Michigan

*The Christian Heritage in America.* By GEORGE HEDLEY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. Pp. 172. \$2.00.

In fifteen eloquent but succinct chapters the author, a scholar, research man and teacher of applied religion, gives the reader the best balanced resume of the various religions in America yet written. Of the Liberal he says, "Academics are familiar with what they describe as 'scientific method.' They still have to reckon with the fact that the mass of the public has not yet learned objectively to enquire, and that therefore it tends yet to distrust the findings of objective enquiry." (p. 130). . . . Techniques are being learned, however, and the critical conscience is becoming aware that "intellectual fuzziness and practical indecision are forbidden to those whose primary canon is intellectual honesty."

Under the caption "Outside The Church There Is No Salvation" the author credits the Catholic pattern with Greek concern for accuracy in discrimination, saying, "When we are good theologians we are Catholic." Also universality is well taught and eagerly practiced by Catholic Christians. But above all else orderliness is the badge of the western Catholicism. We are Catholics "in the permanent framework of our thought."

To Anglican and Episcopalian the author accords centrality of group prayer and devotion accompanied with a rare breadth and freedom in intellectual and philosophical preference for individuals, for "England has shown that a national church can endure and can be an effective unity, while it debates and votes and changes

its procedure with the times." By the Methodist, descendent of Anglican tradition through Wesley brothers, Whitefield, Coke, and Asbury, was exhibited, (1) Free grace in opposition to Calvin's predestination, (2) Free will for man as opposed to the fate of environment, (3) Methodical religious devotion and, (4) a moral passion typically illustrated in the Social Creed of 1908, an attack on corporate sins which later won American protestantism to revolt, reform and reconstruction.

The book opens with a strong statement as to faith and practice of the Jews and another for the Orthodox Christians. He points to the three strands of Jewish life which bind the Jew within the American Christian structure. The first strain was from the Israelite and Jewish prophet, Amos, on inequalities and how they dwarf the souls of men and nations; Micah, warning against the financial control apt to strangle life in a metropolis; Isaiah, quick in condemning the arrogance and brutality of ones own upper strata of society; and Jeremiah, pleading for the human person against military ambition. The second strand was from the priesthood which assumed leadership; and the third strand from the apocalyptists who fought a rear guard action in defense of cultural integrity.

According to Hedley, the Baptist gift to the American heritage is a religious basis for democratic action, democratic group life plus separation of church and state; the Presbyterians, an emphasis on God as law, discipline as a religious practice, and the training of the intellect, a sacred function of the believing community. The shift of the seat of authority from the church to the Bible and the change of emphasis from noble works to implicit faith marks the gift made by the Lutherans to our Christian heritage.

Of the Congregationalists, he maintains they gave dignity to the congregation of souls by empowering laymen to discover their own leaders and consecrate them; worship taking to the field, as it were. He quotes John Milton saying in 1644 A.D., "Whoever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter." As those who despised creedal statement, but relied implicitly on what the scripture teaches, the Disciples hold pre-eminence while the Quakers as pacifists and silent worshippers keep to the inner or personal insight as germane for all believers.

The treatise goes beyond the sectarians to a broad appreciation of all, and he develops chapters upon the Revivalists, the Church of the



future, and Hebrew-Christian Tradition. The book grew out of a series of studies by a chapel committee of students at Mills College, Oakland, California, where the author is in the field of Social Ethics after having taught for some years at Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley. Here is understanding of the human soul, a deep loyalty at once to religion and to country plus a scholarship handled with superb linguistic art.

The book is timely and will fill a pressing need in the following areas of experience: (1) In families eager to relate their children to the dynamics of American life. (2) In liberal schools where youth seek the basis for later critical study of religious faith and practice. (3) In adult groups impatient with research and yet hopeful of seeing beneath the surface of our medley of orders, sects, systems, communions, and institutionalized points of view.

EDWARD W. BLAKEMAN

University of Michigan

*Social Adjustment in Old Age, A Research Planning Report.* By the Sub-committee on Social Adjustment in Old Age of the Social Science Research Council, New York: Social Science Research Council (no date). No price indicated.

As indicated by the sub-title, this document is intended to stimulate and guide research into problems of social adjustment in the later years of life. It is a collection of papers by twenty different contributors plus a bibliography of 429 titles. Topical headings are used throughout and there is a useful index, but otherwise the reader is left to find his own way through a lot of overlapping material not as well integrated as might be desired.

The collection is rather uneven in style and quality. Some contributors carefully indicate work previously done in a given part of the field, others do not. Some suggest rather definite procedures, while others leave the reader to work out his own methods of attacking the problems formulated.

In the first chapter Mrs. Cavan conveniently summarizes available statistical data concerning the population sixty years of age and over. In chapter IV Philip Hauser and Irene Taeuber suggest further demographic studies. By combining the hypotheses and data on pages 8, 23, 10, and 11 one may set up a very interesting project pertaining to the sub-periods of old age. Chapter III, by Mrs. Cavan and Talcott Parsons, offers three criteria for defining the

lower limit of old age: (a) the personal terms elderly persons apply to themselves and their reactions to what others call them; (b) cultural definitions such as retirement age, and employment policy; (c) standard tests of changes of physical, mental and personality traits. Comparative studies of old people in different cultural settings are outlined by Leo Simmons and Talcott Parsons in Chapter III. From what has already been done by Simmons it is evident that much light can be thrown on our own current problems by examining the status and roles of old persons in other times and places.

One of the most important parts of the Report is Chapter V by five contributors, rather effectively outlining projects having to do with social relationships as such. These include studies of changes of family relationships following loss of employment, death of mate, and failing health. Special attention is given to inquiry into the statistically important elderly widows. Later parts of the chapter deal with housing (Hertha Kraus), leisure and recreation (George Lawton) and old-age movements (Judson Landis).

There has been much debate about employment opportunities for the aged. In Chapter VI Clark Tibbitts and Otto Pollak outline carefully some ways of discovering just what relations there are between age and employment practices together with contributory factors. In Chapter VII seven contributors deal with social and financial problems of retirement, stressing the study of attitudes of persons both before and after retirement, with a view to discovering what factors are associated with good adjustments. The last chapter, by eight contributors, deals with personality, intelligence, and mental disorders.

The most serious criticism of the Report is its poor processing. Some of the "dittoed" pages are so dim as to be nearly illegible. Page 107 displays gross carelessness in proofreading. But the mimeographed bibliography is clear and relatively free from errors.

On the whole, this should be a very valuable aid to students of personal adjustment and social relations. But students who use it will suffer eye-strain and will rebel against the lack of integration. This document is of sufficient importance to have been more carefully produced.

STUART A. QUEEN

Washington University

*Catholic Education for Social Work.* By LUCIAN L. LAUERMAN, Washington, D.C. The Catholic University of America Press, 1945. Pp. 1-124. No price indicated.

In *Catholic Education for Social Work*, Father Lauerman presents a very illuminating study of Catholic students of Schools of Social Work, confining himself to their knowledge "in the area of Catholic philosophy and ethics." As a setting for presentation of his original data, he reviews the Catholic point of view in relation to general education, the relationship of the seven accredited Catholic Schools of Social Work to this point of view, and to general development of professional Schools of Social Work. He attempts to answer such questions as: "Does the Catholic school of social work preserve or increase the ability in a student to give a reason for the faith that is in him? Is he able to declare correctly Catholic doctrine related to social work and is he able to support his statements with reasonable proofs? To what degree—is he capable of presenting Catholic social doctrine and ethics to his clients, his fellow workers and his fellow citizens?"

The most elaborately developed section of the study is based on one part of a four-part schedule, "designed to secure information about the individual's knowledge and conviction on the general topics of—Religion, Man's Final End, Law, Freedom, The Family, The Church, The State, Economic Society, The Problem of Evil, and The Virtues of Prayer and Purity." The students were asked to give a statement of conviction on each of the forty-six points included in these topics, and then to submit their "Proof" of the statement. The replies of ninety Catholic students, seventy-two per cent of whom were graduated from Catholic Schools and twenty-eight per cent from secular schools, were judged by Father Lauerman as "right, insufficient, or wrong." All "right" answers were then rated as Militant, Positive, Indifferent, or Negative.

Before the analysis of replies on each of the general topics given above, a statement of Catholic doctrine covering the subject is presented by Father Lauerman. This material is drawn from *The New Catholic Dictionary*, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and a variety of Catholic authorities. This is extremely interesting reading for the non-Catholic. Also interesting is a study of the sample replies judged "Right, Wrong or Insufficient." Armed with preliminary statements of the Catholic doctrine, the non-Catholic

reader can easily see the reason for a few of the ratings. Many, however, show nuances and subtleties, requiring long study.

The findings are (1) students graduated from Catholic Schools of Social Work were "Right" more often than their colleagues from secular schools, (2) the total group of students were stronger on their statement of the Church's position than they were on spontaneous "proof" of that position. "The study revealed that the group had a lower standard of knowledge than was expected, and precisely lower than the Catholic Schools of social work in their statement of purpose implicitly propose to provide to their students." Father Lauerman accordingly presents a method for overcoming such lacks. The plan involves no decrease in the amount of time given to professional subjects but more intensive integration of the Catholic philosophy through credit courses and required non-credit and extra-curricular work. What seems to be needed now is another study, done with equal care and devotion, of the knowledge and conviction social work students acquire in relation to the profession of social work. This will be much more difficult since philosophy and practice in this area are still evolving and still open to discussion. However, such a study would be highly relevant for both non-Catholic and Catholic schools and I believe Father Lauerman has developed a method which can be useful in making such a study.

ELEANOR G. CRANFIELD

*University of Michigan*

*Understanding Marriage and the Family.* (Vol. 11 of the American Family Magazine Book Foundation.) Edited by RAY V. SOWERS and JOHN W. MULLEN. The Eugene Hugh Publishers, Inc., Chicago, 1946. Pp. 237. \$3.50.

*Understanding Marriage and the Family* is a unique volume in the literature dealing with marriage and family life. Because it is unique, one cannot say that it is just another book on marriage and the family. From one point of view the publication is a memorial to the work of Dr. Ernest Rutherford Groves, well known pioneer in the study of marriage relationships. In another sense it is a symposium which presents the ideas of specialists in the various aspects of marriage and family life. The book is definitely not designed as a text, though doubtless teachers of courses dealing with marriage and the family will find that it contains useful collateral material.

The topics considered include almost every phase of education for marriage and the family, excepting child rearing and parent-child relationships. There are fifteen chapters, each one being written by a different person. Thus each chapter constitutes an independent essay. The writers are specialists in their respective fields and though they do not report the results of original research their writings reflect a high degree of objectivity and competence. In some cases as in the chapter dealing with the teaching of the recently married, successful experiences are described. As a whole the chapters show evidence of a consistent trend toward objective analysis of marriage and family relationships. The underlying assumption in the book is that family life can be made more stable and happier if the knowledge about human adjustments is more completely utilized. Education and counselling are the means by which such information is made useable to members of the family. The process of individuation (page 22) which is going on in the modern world makes the need for these services urgent and continuous. The crucial question seems to be, according to the views presented in Chapter Six "Two Views of the Family," can the process of making family life happier for members individually be continued without decreasing their sense of social obligation. Stated in other words "it is a battle of the material and sensual against the spiritual and moral, of individual satisfaction versus social welfare" (page 93).

One must judge this volume not as a text or as a book of reading but as a symposium by specialists. The various chapters indicate the accomplishment to date in the broad field of education and counselling in marriage relations and at the same time outline the problems and opportunities that now confront workers in these areas. The book, therefore, will be of special interest to them. To the general reader it offers a source of reliable information about what is being done "to solve" the problem of marriage and family life, and suggests the probable developments of such activities in the future. The content of the volume clearly indicates that the nature and scope of problems in marriage and family life require the cooperative efforts of the school, the church, the professional services of men in law and medicine, and the aid of social workers and counsellors in domestic problems. In view of the recent increase in divorce rate in many communities such a book provides timely information for leaders who are

interested in developing a constructive program to deal with the problem.

CHARLES R. HOFFER

*Michigan State College*

*The Family.* By ERNEST W. BURGESS and HARVEY J. LOCKE. New York: American Book Company, 1945. Pp. xv + 800. \$4.25.

Textbooks bearing the word "Family" on their covers flow from the presses. Some are marriage course texts written to interest, inspire and advise the undergraduate student. Some present the best scientific knowledge to date, concerning the family with the assumption if the average student is bored by complexity, the complex picture is still the truer picture. Burgess and Locke have written the second kind of book, the ideal typical *sociological* text. For twenty years the senior author has been building scientific sociology while many others talked about the proper method. For him any method was good which got scientific results. The book is packed with results including the findings of other disciplines than sociology. But the emphasis is resolutely sociological and in this area the sociologist need not be ashamed of his science.

The theme of the book is the transition of the family from institutional to companionship organization. The methodology while eclectic avowedly stresses typology. In appendix A, p. 756, the fifteen ideal types (often dichotomous) most commonly used are listed. The book is fitted with case studies, tables, charts and maps based largely on the facts of the American Scene. A chapter on the Chinese Family and one on the Russian Family are the only systematic deviations from the analysis of American society.

The book is organized into four parts concerned with respectively (1) the family in social change, (2) the family and personality development, (3) family organization, (4) family disorganization and reorganization. The appendix contains up-to-date schedules; namely, the "Marriage Prediction Schedule," the "Marriage Adjustment Form" and the "Scale for Rating Family Integration and Adaptability." Instructions are given so that readers can compute their own scores and interpret them with due caution.

There are various distinctive features to the book in respect to content. The rural family and the Negro family receive thorough treatment. On the other hand, historical and ethnological

background material is not systematically presented although the authors reveal constantly their familiarity with such material. Personality development is discussed in the abstract, but the parent-child relationship fails to receive the direct consideration often given in family textbooks. There is stress on process rather than problems. While mobility accommodations and crises and disruption are analyzed there is no surviving trace of the "divorce evil" approach of past decades. A very competent, up-to-date chapter deals with the effects of war on family life. The final chapter on family reorganization gives a good survey of reconstructive movements and methods involving security, education and counseling. Here to the reviewers mind, however, there is an underestimate of the ideological incompatibility of certain groups in the family life movement. Good scientists and good Catholics agree better on glittering generalities than on means to ends. Special mention should be made of the "summary and research" sections included at the end of each chapter. These are uneven in that afterthoughts creep into summaries. Suggestions for dreary mechanical comparisons appear side by side with brilliant proposals worthy of the attention of any research-minded sociologist.

Fundamentally any sensible evaluation of a book must be with reference to some defined purpose. This book is apparently written for sociology and sociologists rather than for students. From this point of view there is much to command admiration and interest. The sociology of the American family is brought together as an authoritative compilation. The concepts of familism and integration are sharpened and refined. Probably the most novel and original sociological contribution of the book is found in the chapter on marital success. There is a brilliant analysis of various criteria of marital success and a suggestion for the use of a success profile rather than single scores. The book is enriched by findings from the research work of both authors. The reviewer was disappointed, however, in not finding a systematic account of the Burgess-Wallis study of engaged couples including an exposition of the new prediction and adjustment scales presented in the appendix. Perhaps a forthcoming publication will supplement the previous article and the present text. While the four wishes of W. I. Thomas have held an honored place among the concepts of American Sociology, the chapter devoted to the "Fundamental Wishes" rather la-

bors their exposition without a sharp focus on family behavior. It is not completely realized that these are classificatory concepts having little more explanatory value than the instinctivist concepts now out of fashion.

It is from the student point of view that the book is most vulnerable. The text is not inspiring reading. The lazier student will object to the massing of statistical detail to prove a fairly obvious point and suspect that material was used because available. Such students will harass instructors with the old question, "What are we supposed to know for the examination?" Some will sense the occasional platitude (p. 379). Yet even the lazy student may gain respect if not affection for sociology being confronted with a vast compilation of facts rather than more sugar-coated theories. The rich and well chosen case history material compensates and gives reality and vividness to factual analysis without leaving an impression of distortion or sugar-coating.

From any point of view the book commands respect. Sociologists can be proud that two members of their profession have written in sociological terms one of the most scholarly, comprehensive and scientific accounts of family behavior which has appeared to date.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

University of Minnesota

*When You Marry.* By EVELYN MILLS. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1945. 450 pp. \$2.40.

A marriage manual is a difficult book to write. Treating, as it usually does, such disparate topics as sex adjustment, relative advantages of home ownership, care of pregnant women, child training, etc., it must, nevertheless, achieve some unity and coherence. Science has no answers as yet for some of the most insistent queries of its readers—and yet answers must be forthcoming, however untrustworthy at the present time. Still another of its problems is to offer counsel which is not too general and obvious in an area in which advice must vary with the cultural and personal characteristics of the reader.

Considering these difficulties, *When You Marry* will rank among the best books of its kind. It is solid in content and skillful in presentation. The authors have incorporated a great body of research findings in various fields relating to the family. While the book covers the usual wide range of topics, it achieves unity through its emphasis on human



interaction in courtship, marriage, and parenthood. It is precisely in the interpretation of family interaction that the sociologists can make their best contribution to education for family living. The fact that Willard Waller is the most, and Ernest W. Burgess the second most, frequently-cited author will give some clue to the sociological slant of the book. It is, incidentally, Waller's insights into processes of courtship, of marriage solidarity and conflict that are widely cited; the general tone of the book differs from Waller's writings.

The book is divided into four parts: Anticipating Marriage; What it Means to be Married; The Making of a Family; and Family Life Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow. Some of the chapter headings are: "What You Bring to Marriage"; "Love Enough to Marry On"; "Dating: Practice Makes Perfect"; "Who Gets Married and to Whom"; "Marriage and the Facts of Life"; "Morality Makes Sense"; "Just Married"; "When Crises Come"; "Facts and Feelings about Divorce"; "Where Babies Come From"; "What it Means to be Parents"; "Family Life and Religious Living" and so on.

Ernest W. Burgess wrote a foreword and an appendix contains the Marriage Prediction Scale of Burgess and Cottrell and also a list of Marriage and Family Counseling Services.

The authors are exceptionally successful in the presentation of their subject matter. The style is simple, personal, and above all concrete, with many specific illustrations. The provocative questions at the beginning of each chapter, the excellent cartoons of Wyncie King, the numerous check lists and tests are all devices which facilitate communication.

The moral emphases of the book include the case for premarital chastity, a liberal attitude towards birth control, divorce, employment of married women, and an overall faith in the democratic companionship family. A tone of optimism pervades the book. It derives in part from the emphasis on "normal" adjustment and exclusion of even mildly psychiatric materials; in part from the "constructive" approach, i.e., never stating a problem without remedies.

As books on education for marriage increase in number, they will undoubtedly become more specialized. No one book can serve all ages, degrees of emancipation from the mores, maturity, education. As indicated in the foreword, this book will prove useful to young people whether they read it on their own or in con-

nection with classes and discussion groups in schools, churches, and settlements.

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

*Barnard College*

*Families in Trouble.* By EARL LOMON KOOS. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. 134 pp. \$2.25.

Mr. Koos spent two years in an intensive study of 62 unbroken, low-income families living in one New York City block. His problems were: Into what "troubles" do such families fall? By what means do they attempt to get out of trouble? What factors are associated with their success or failure? What are the "effects" on the internal life of these families? What are the "effects" on their relations to other families and to organized groups?

The general locale was the scene of several previous studies, one made by the author of this book. Available data made possible the selection of a census tract relatively free from "extremes in its population variables," and, within the tract, of a representative block. Then a mailbox enumeration, a random drawing of names, and 81 family interviews yielded a sample of 62 unbroken families with at least one child each, willing to co-operate.

It is evident that Mr. Koos must have been a skillful interviewer to establish without preparation or "authority," a relationship which was continued for two years and which yielded a mass of intimate details about the lives of these people. He also worked out some practical devices for organizing his data. He defined his terms with some care and utilized the terms as defined. Hence his "pre-established framework of questions" yielded not only easily tabulable items, but verbatim statements capable of classification in the light of theoretical concepts.

Koos found only five out of 62 families that experienced no "troubles" either before or during the 24 months of study. (A "trouble" was distinguished from the ordinary "exigencies" of low income, crowding, etc. It was "something you aren't used to handling" with sharpened insecurity and the necessity of devising new action patterns.) The troubles were classified according to "initiating causes" and related to the families' "adequacy of organization." From this it appeared "that the less adequate the organization of the family the more frequent and important are the interpersonal problems as causes of trouble."

Koos' criteria of adequacy were: (1) mutual awareness and acceptance of personal roles, (2) common definition of the good of the family, (3) the finding of satisfaction within the family unit, and (4) a sense of direction with movement in keeping with this; *not* economic or educational level as such.

In the district where these 62 families lived were many "health and welfare agencies." But in general the families avoided institutionalized services. This avoidance, incidentally, extended to the clergy and the politician. Koos suggests that this may be due to the American cult of success and the disgrace of being in trouble.

Intra-family effects of troubles included changes in dominance, role evaluation, discipline, sex activity, and home routine. Better-than-average families cut off many of their outside contacts. Below-average families suffered less displacement, perhaps they were already more isolated and had less to lose.

In general, this study is reminiscent of the earlier work by Angell, Cavan, and Ranck, both as to methods and to findings. It is a modest, but significant bit of sociological research in family life.

STUART A. QUEEN

*Washington University*

*Manual of Child Psychology.* Edited by LEONARD CARMICHAEL with eighteen other contributors. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1946. 1068 pp. \$6.00.

This publication, long and eagerly awaited, has already taken its place as a "must" on every reference shelf in the several fields of developmental behavior. It also provides, for the first time, a textbook adequate to the advanced level of college instruction. In particular, students of *genetic* psychology will rejoice in a single volume which synthesizes the phylogenetic, human ontogenetic, ethnological, the normal and the clinical, the factual and the theoretical materials in this eclectic realm. Even where recourse to all original sources must continue, as in seminars and research, there is much to be gained through the critical summaries of nineteen distinguished authorities in as many fields.

The first chapter, on methods (J. E. Anderson), gives a good historical orientation and provides an excellent background for critical evaluation of the manifold types of research in a new and swiftly evolving area of psychology. The next four chapters tend to focus, each in its own way, on the earliest periods of growth, and

their important theoretical issues of maturation, structural-functional relationships, developmental "laws," and so forth. Partly because it reflects the very exciting research areas of experimental embryology, partly because its discoveries have so deeply penetrated all of systematic psychology, Carmichael's treatment of comparative behavior genesis provides a sort of definitive cornerstone for the entire book. His is certainly the most comprehensive chapter, not only in factual materials, and bibliographical annotation, but also in its synthesis of experimental detail, critical evaluation, and theoretical implication. Some of the later chapters in the Manual approach, and possibly reach this "yardstick," others fall quite definitely short. Indeed, the reader may be occasionally irked by the repetition of materials presented so clearly and systematically in this chapter.

Logical in sequence and a close competitor to Carmichael's contribution is that of Gesell, on the ontogenesis of human behavior. This might well have followed immediately as chapter III. As usual, this author presents many supplementary concepts and experimental data of deeply challenging theoretical import. In analytical thinking, these are like the branches of a beautifully symmetrical tree, emerging from the sturdy trunk of organismic biology and experimental embryology. The aspects of physical growth and post-natal behavioral maturation receive additional emphasis in two fine chapters by Thompson and McGraw, respectively. Pratt has skillfully systematized the extensive literature on the neonate, historically, physiologically, and psychologically.

There are several very welcome innovations in the Manual, providing materials not usually found in the average child psychology texts. Cruikshank has added, at last, the "missing comparative chapter" on animal infancy. Another most stimulating contribution (Mead), covers the recent ethnological studies of children. These latter materials clearly reveal two problems—the necessity of increased co-operative research, and of reducing the present disparity in techniques and interpretations to some common denominator.

A third innovation is a specialized chapter on character development (V. Jones). The author interweaves various intrinsic characteristics of personality, needs and motivations, with a wide variety of environmental influences. In another specific approach to "nurture," H. E. Jones discusses environmental factors in growth

of intelligence, as measured by standard tests. These factors range from geophysical influences to socio-economic status and family constellation.

Learning is discussed by N. L. Munn, who as usual, compresses an enormous experimental literature into a very concentrated form. All types and levels of learning are exhaustively illustrated, but one misses such incidental theoretical discussions as were included in the author's own developmental text. One is also a little surprised at the omission of some fairly important titles on infant discrimination learning.

Both types of omission are far more striking in Jersild's chapter on emotion. Considering the scope and importance of this topic, so brief and purely factual a treatise is disappointing. A comparable criticism holds for Goodenough's chapter on measurement of mental growth. This is a good résumé of theory and methodology, but the average reader would profit from analytical dissection of a few specific test items and a less restricted bibliography. The discussion of adolescent behavior (Dennis) also forms a relatively short chapter, but in this case brevity reflects a real dearth of experimental work at original sources.

In contrast, McCarthy leaves few gaps in her exhaustive analysis of speech development. Lewin's contribution is an excellent condensation of the principal concepts in topological psychology, and might logically have followed chapter I as a general theoretical orientation to all of behavioral development.

The final three chapters combine a valuable cluster of special topics, each comprehensively treated, on feeble-minded children (Doll), gifted children (C. C. Miles), and sex differences (Terman and associates).

In a co-operative book of this scope, certain unevenness in quality is doubtless inevitable, and an inclusion of all the areas of genetic interest would necessitate a second volume. All things considered, the most severe critic must, nevertheless, conclude that this new Manual is without contemporary peer in the field of developmental behavior.

MARTHA GUERNSEY COLBY

University of Michigan

*Population in Modern China.* By TA CHEN.  
University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1946.  
pp. 126. \$2.50.

The beginnings in any area of census-taking

in the modern sense is a noteworthy occurrence. But when that area is China the event has tremendous significance; it foretells the closure of one of the great gaps remaining in our knowledge of world population. *Population in Modern China* is therefore an important book, if for no other reason than that it records a decade of census activity and progress. Between 1932 and 1942 ten small censuses were completed in localities in seven different provinces. The last and largest of these, the Kunming Lake region census, which covered one large city and four *hsien*, was conducted under the directorship of the author and the auspices of The Institute of Census Research of Tsing Hua University. Benefiting from the experiences gained in the earlier censuses, the enumeration in the Kunming Lake region embodied a systematic attempt to adapt modern procedures to the social context in the area.

The book reports and interprets the findings of the ten enumerations. Sex, age, size of family, density, births, deaths, marriages, occupations, and migration are treated in detail. The census data on the last two items, occupations and migration, are supplemented by materials from a number of specific researches. Particular attention is given to the effects of war on industrialization, cost of living, labor turnover, and population redistribution. A short chapter on policy concludes the 77 pages of text. The appendix contains 45 pages of tables.

While for the most part the materials are handled carefully and critically, there appear to be one or two lapses into negligence. Summarizing data on sex distribution for nine censuses, excluding the Kunming Lake region census, the author arrives at a weighted mean sex ratio of 112.7 males per 100 females, which is most unusual for a long-settled agrarian population. In the Kunming Lake region a sex ratio of 102.7:100 is found. This, the author feels, is "normal" for "any large population" such, for example, as that of the United States and of New Zealand. No recognition is given the fact that these Western populations are affected by recent heavy immigrations. Again, the preponderance of females at birth is curious. To explain these several aspects of sex composition the author reasons that females, though born in larger numbers than males, die at higher rates and thus are exceeded by males in the advanced ages. Not only is this argument at odds with all other observations of sex differences in mortality, it is contradicted by the

author's own life tables (Tables 36 and 37). The peculiar sex ratios are very likely due either to gross inaccuracies in enumeration or to the operation of special circumstances.

It is also disconcerting to find the data on births to couples classified by age of wife and education of husband interpreted as births by education of wife (p. 30 and Table 20).

These few aberrations are of minor consequence, however, in view of the otherwise able presentation of much valuable information on Chinese population. Among its other contributions the book contains revealing descriptions of Chinese data, as in respect to age, marriage, and occupations, which should prove highly useful to Occidental scholars. The discussions of historical aspects of China's population further enhance the value of the volume.

AMOS H. HAWLEY

*University of Michigan*

*Nationalities and National Minorities.* By OSCAR ISALAH JANOWSKY. New York: Macmillan Co., 1945. 251 pp. \$2.75.

One could hardly think of a more timely topic than the one discussed by Dr. Janowsky in this book. With the world intent on revising its political map, the issue of nationalities and their incorporation into various state structures is in the foreground now perhaps more than at any other time. And the area which Dr. Janowsky specifically deals with, viz. East-Central Europe, seems to present the most baffling problems of all. The focal idea of the book is the multi-national state, and it is this type of political and cultural structure that the author finds most suitable for East-Central Europe. Dr. Janowsky draws a sharp line of distinction between the multi-national state, or national federalism, and the traditional cultural autonomy plan, or the outright domination by the majority. He believes that the multi-national state is a more effective solution than an international machinery for the protection of minorities, and a more desirable and practical solution than the transfer of populations. To show that national federalism is not just a theoretical construct but a living reality, Dr. Janowsky devotes a considerable portion of his book to the description and analysis of three states which, according to him, exemplify this type of organization; viz. Switzerland, South Africa and the Soviet Union. The crucial test for Dr. Janowsky's proposal is then, first, whether the national group relations in these countries are

actually as satisfactory as the author believes them to be, and secondly, whether they actually do represent the multi-national pattern. Regarding Switzerland, the popular beliefs seem to bear out the author's contentions: it is traditionally believed to be a happy solution for the several nationalities composing it, and one could agree that it comes quite close to the program of national federalism suggested by the author. Of course, it still remains a question whether the people of Switzerland have reached the happy political solution because they deliberately decided to practice national federalism, or whether another factor or factors are responsible for the Swiss way of life, and multi-nationalism is just a by-product. The same might be said of the South African situation. A much more questionable example is that of the Soviet Union. The actual power structure and pattern of relations of the nationalities in that country are very controversial subjects. There are those who cite evidence of a totalitarian regime which has ruthlessly subjugated the population also in respect to its national or cultural freedom. Again there are others who are willing fully to accept the official picture of the happy co-existence of nationalities within the USSR. The Associated Press dispatch of June 26 of this year, which tells that two autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics (the Crimean and the Chechen-Ingush) have been deprived of their autonomy and many of their inhabitants have been resettled in other parts of Russia as punishment for treachery during the German invasion, does not fit very well into the picture of a commendable solution of national problems in the Soviet Union as drawn by Dr. Janowsky. Thus Dr. Janowsky's plan for multi-national states for East-Central Europe, strictly speaking, remains an interesting proposal. With so many other plans having failed, it would be interesting to see it given a fair try. But it does not look right now as though it would be given a real opportunity, unless one is optimistic enough to interpret the present situation as a step towards free federal nationalism.

P. LEJINS

*University of Maryland*

*Some Educational Problems in Peru.* By MAX H. MIÑANO-GARCÍA. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1945. (Institute of Latin-American Studies, Occasional Series, I.) 70 pp. No price given.

This booklet contains the text of two ad-



dresses by a Peruvian educator dealing with "Educational Work to Incorporate the Rural Population of Peru into the Full Functions of the National Life" and "Public Education in Peru." They are printed in both the Spanish original and English translation.

The author accepts the results of the Peruvian population census of 1940 with its (probably too low) 45.9 percentage of pure Indians. He points out that it is not so much the racial but the linguistic difference which isolates the indigenous population from the rest of the people, in view of the fact that the great majority of the 2,850,000 "Indians" speak and understand only aboriginal idioms. Less than two-thirds of all Peruvians over five years of age speak Spanish.

The author describes the twenty Rural Normal Schools which were established between 1940 and 1944 for the training of bilingual teachers for Indian communities, with the government assuming all expenses. It is expected to graduate 800 teachers per year who are to teach Spanish and, in addition to the three R's, elements of agriculture, manual arts, and hygiene. The basic teaching in rural elementary schools is in the language of the pupils. An attempt is made to prevent the exodus of educated Indians from their home communities to urban centers—a general tendency in the past—and to induce them instead to make their superior knowledge available for the improvement of local living conditions. Adult education, Cultural Brigades and School Patronages are to implement this work, the last two especially in the rural field.

In 1940, only 35% of the total population of elementary school age received instruction. As this indicates already an improvement over previous periods, the relatively favorable illiteracy figure of 57.6% for the population of 15 years of age and over appears too low.

In his second paper the author gives a useful summary of the new organization of public instruction in Peru according to the Organic Law of 1941. Scant attention is paid to the tremendous problems with which this program has to cope, such as the extremely high rate of demographic dispersion, with a considerable part of the population living in places with less than 50 inhabitants, topographic difficulties, inadequacy of transportation, lack of qualified teachers, and deeply rooted deficiencies of public administration. The author's statement that "from the outset, the republican period was

characterized by marked interest in public instruction" (p. 38) may be doubted, particularly in view of the fact that it was not before 1855 that a department of education was established, which even then was part of the Ministry of Justice. The first Normal School was founded only in 1876.

RICHARD F. BEHRENDT

*Colgate University*

*The Peckham Experiment.* By INNES H. PEARSE and LUCY H. CROCKER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946. 333 pp. \$3.50.

It is always encouraging when biologists and medical practitioners discover the importance of sociological factors in health, disease, and medical care. Although long accepted sociological generalizations are invariably set forth as new discoveries, it is not unusual for the method of presentation and the language to be refreshing and even to offer new insights. Such is the case with this volume.

This is a detailed, carefully recorded story of five years of a significant, carefully planned, controlled experiment in the practice of health, with medical care considered indirectly. The approach to health was made through the leisure time activities of two thousand representative families in London's Peckham neighborhood. The locale of the study was a uniquely planned health center, the architecture of which was designed to use the factor of visibility and interior design so as to facilitate the particular kind of social organization desired. Families belong to the Center on a fee basis and receive the benefits of leisure time opportunities and medical care. The results in better health, more solidary families, and better integrated personalities cannot be questioned.

The sociologist will be interested, first, in the large number of biological analogies used in discussing social phenomena, with not a single reference to Hobbes or Spencer. When these analogies become a basis for the social theory developed, the danger, or at best the uselessness, of biological-social analogies becomes apparent. For example, here the authors are speaking of the concept of community:

Its characteristic is that it is the result of a natural functional organisation in society, which brings its own intrinsic impetus to ordered growth and development. In our understanding, 'community' is built up of homes linked with society through a functional zone of mutuality. As it grows, in mutuality of synthesis it determines its own anatomy

and physiology, according to biological law. A community is thus a specific 'organ' of the body of Society and is formed of living and growing cells—the homes of which it is composed. (p. 292)

It is on the 'cellular' concept of Schwann that exact knowledge of the physiology and pathology of the human body has been based. Perhaps this 'cellular' concept which we have taken as our premise—of the family-functioning-through-its home—will prove to be the basis for the growth of a *Science of the Living structure of Society*. (p. 298)

The authors are apparently oblivious to sociological works on the family from LePlay on. None is referred to and such statements as the following will draw a smile from the sociologist: "The mere fact, therefore, of basing any organization on the family-organism as a unit, implies a new and unique orientation in modern society." (p. 41)

Of significance to specialists in health education are the following conclusions: "... health can only come forth from mutuality of action within a society sufficiently mixed and varied to provide for the needs of mind and spirit as well as of body." (p. 6). And again: "So health does not demand education of the individual nor education of the populace—the two accepted and popular methods—but education of the family as a live functioning organism." (p. 122)

This project has been a controlled sociological experiment in every sense of the term, and it is only unfortunate that well trained sociologists were not on the staff to see that the accumulated body of social theory, meager as it admittedly is, could be utilized. Perhaps, however, the freshness of approach of the project might have been thereby lost.

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

University of North Carolina

*Interviewing for NORC.* National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver, 1945. 154 pp. \$2.00.

This book is a manual for the NORC interviewing staff and since it is intended to be used in training interviewers for that organization, considerable space is taken up with topics and operating procedures peculiar to that organization. Much of the material, however, is applicable to interviewers in polling, market research, or other types of surveying. The section entitled "How To Get A Good Interview" (Chapters 4-8) and Chapter 13 on asking for factual data are particularly useful to survey interviewers in general. The section on "How To Get A Good Interview" includes discussions of the inter-

viewer's introduction to the respondent, and methods of establishing rapport. The general approach is to give the interviewer practical guides to enable him to gain the respondent's cooperation and to avoid biasing the answers by his introduction. The section includes discussions of the most common questions which respondents ask about polling procedures and answers to these questions are suggested. The chapter on asking the questions emphasizes that in order to have comparability of interviews, all questions must be asked exactly as they are worded and in their proper sequence. All questions are carefully pretested for wording before being sent to the field. Under the chapter entitled "Obtaining The Response" both fixed-alternative and open or "free answer" types of questions are discussed. Various examples of good and bad probing for complete answers are discussed and techniques are described for handling "don't know" and partial answers. This chapter is particularly well done and provides the interviewer with several techniques which he can use to get complete yet unbiased answers. In the next group of chapters on sampling there is a discussion of the principles of random stratified sampling. The interviewer is given suggestions for selecting a random sample and is told how to get the correct proportion of people in the age, sex, and economic groups. The last section on "Special Problems" takes up such topics as collecting factual data and pretesting of questionnaires. There is also a bibliography on public opinion polling.

The material in the book is well organized and is presented in a simple and interesting style. It is fully illustrated at all points and contains many practical hints to the interviewer. It will prove to be a valuable book to use as a basis for training survey interviewers.

CHARLES F. CANNELL

U. S. Department of Agriculture

*Youth, Marriage, and Parenthood.* By LEMO D. ROCKWOOD and MARY N. FORD. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1945. Pp. xiii + 298. \$3.00. (Cloth)

This book is a report of a study of the attitudes of 364 university junior and senior students toward sex and courtship, marriage, parenthood, and separation and divorce. The students were predominantly Protestants, belonged to sororities and fraternities, and were from cities and from American-born parents.

Questionnaires were used to collect the information.

Sex and courtship questions included items on sex education, premarital sex standards and practices, petting, and premarital physical examinations. Marriage questions dealt with certain preferences such as age difference between marital partners, time between graduation and marriage, and intelligence, religious faith, and education of fiancé; economic items relative to financial help from parents, income, savings, and whether or not married women should work; and whether the husband or wife is most responsible for the success of a marriage. The authors assumed that the students' future parental attitudes would be reflected in their answers to questions on the preferred sex of the first child, spacing of children, contraceptives, adoption, and desired number of children. On the problem of divorce and separation the questions were whether or not an unhappy marriage should be maintained for the sake of the children, the conditions under which a spouse would be justified in seeking a divorce, the willingness of the subject to marry a divorced person, and whether or not an ex-wife should receive alimony.

A comparison of the answers to the above questions by students in a marriage course with answers of nonmarriage course students showed few significant differences. Differences between schools and divisions of the university also were negligible.

The findings of the study hardly warranted the extended treatment given them. The significant findings tend to be subordinated to a mass of insignificant details. The primary value of the study is that it is based on research.

L. J. LOCKE

*University of Southern California*

*Government Assistance in Eighteenth-Century France.* By SHELBY T. McCLOY. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1946. 496 pp. \$6.00.

This volume is the work of a professional historian, who at the time the study was made was on the faculty of Duke University but is now professor of history at the University of Kentucky. The book is of interest to the sociologist, primarily to those in the field of public welfare, because even in French, no similar study has appeared treating the entire field of government assistance to the needy in France in the eighteenth century. It should be noted that

"the present volume is not designed to cover all French charities, but is restricted primarily to the assistance rendered by the state and provincial governments, touching only incidentally municipal, church, and private charities," which latter have been fairly thoroughly considered by Martin-Doisy in the four-volume encyclopaedic treatise, *Dictionnaire d'économie charitable* (edited by the Abbe Migne, Paris, 1855-1864) and by Leon Lallemant in his four-volume *Histoire de la charité* (Paris 1902-1912).

In preparing his manuscript, the author spent the summer of 1937 in the Archives Nationales and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Again in late July, 1939, he returned to France, expecting to do thirteen months of further investigation on leave in that country, but as has been the case with so many scholars working in Europe in recent years, the outbreak of war sent him back to the Library of Congress where he spent some months at work on printed sources there. Additionally, he explored in this connection the resources of a large number of outstanding university libraries in the United States. He expresses the view that "it was with the keenest regret" that he "forewent his year in the French archives, and he feels confident that he would have plowed a deeper furrow with the additional archival material than it has been possible to do without it."

Even a casual acquaintance with French history of the eighteenth century points to the fact that the government found it more than expedient to render assistance to the needy, who were present in such great numbers, and who were in such large measure a problem created by the oppressive rule of the absolute, regal and extravagant monarchies of Louis XIV, XV and XVI, the latter of which went under amid the reverberations of the French Revolution (1789-1795). This also was the century in which the Physiocrats came forward to extoll the virtues of agriculture, the peasantry groaning under excessive and iniquitous taxation, and of *laissez faire* as a relief against the tyrannies of mercantilism. So, one of the principal relief measures to which the author gives attention is that of famines, more or less throughout the entire period. Other types of governmental assistance considered are flood relief and control, fire relief and prevention, epizootics (animal plagues such as rinderpest), the bubonic plague of 1720-1722, aid to hospitals, asylums, foundling children, to large families in need, to charity workshops, to beggars, vagabonds, and the needy, to refugees,

captives, and war sufferers, and a number of like matters of charitable concern.

The work characterizing the volume is extensive as the footnotes and bibliography indicate. The material is presented in readable form and with considerable interest-carrying power. As background material for the growing number of those in the field of public welfare, the content offers much of suggestive value for the present time. As historical material, illuminating a significant phase of modern European history in the important eighteenth century, the volume makes its most distinctive contribution.

WILSON GEE

University of Virginia

*Race and Democratic Society.* By FRANZ BOAS.  
New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1945.  
219 pp. \$2.50.

This volume contains thirty-three articles from the pen of the late Franz Boas. Some of these had never been published, while others had appeared in sources not readily accessible nowadays. They cover a long period of time, the earliest, on "The Negro in Africa," being taken from *The Ethical Record* of 1904, and the latest, on "Class Consciousness," from *The Christian Register* of 1943. These writings thus mirror the mind of Professor Boas over a span of approximately forty years; and, while some changes and development are in evidence, for the most part they show a remarkable consistency. The author early in his life fixed his mind upon the principles of democracy and intellectual freedom, he appreciated their importance, and followed them to their logical conclusions.

These are not scientific papers. Some of them were written as popular statements on current issues for *The Nation*, *The World Tomorrow*, *Dial*, *Forum*, and *Asia*; but the others were personal letters, radio talks, class lectures, commencement addresses, and letters to New York newspapers. When it was proposed that writings of this type be brought together in a book, Professor Boas evinced no great enthusiasm and remarked to the editor, "I really think you are wasting your time. I do not believe the publication of these papers is of sufficient importance." Before his death in 1942, however, and largely as a result of the impact of Nazi and Fascist

ideology, he became convinced of the urgent need of popular education, of explaining to the man on the street the nature and implications of our democratic ideals, and of the falsity of many of our prejudices. Accordingly, he began to assist with the compilation of these articles, he approved the selection included in this volume, and himself edited the first twelve before death intervened.

The papers in this collection are grouped under three headings. The first, entitled "Race," includes articles on prejudice, class consciousness, Jews, "Aryans," racism, and the Negro. He hammers the thoughts that "the existence of any pure race with special endowments is a myth, as is the belief that there are races all of whose members are foredoomed to eternal inferiority," and that "the behavior of an individual is determined not by his racial affiliation, but by the character of his ancestry and his cultural environment." The second section is entitled "Units of Man," and includes articles on nationalism, solidarity, national groupings, and the educated classes. The third division, "Democratic Society," includes articles on patriotism, social justice, intellectual freedom, education, schools, universities, and the role of the scientist in democratic society. In these essays he insists that "our minds must remain free, if for no other reason but that free minds are needed for the solution of our problems," and "a moral obligation to enlighten the minds of the people rests on scientists and educators, to impress the millions whom they reach by the spoken and written word, that the dignity of the individual can be safeguarded only when we recognize the equal rights of individuals, and condemn regimentation of thought by authoritarian commands or by intolerant majorities."

Sociologists who know Boas's scholarly contributions to our understanding of race and culture will find nothing new in these pages, but these papers were not written, and this compilation not made, for such persons. The purpose of this collection is "to bring light and truth to the people in the fundamental matters that actually govern their very living." The book performs its function well.

BREWTON BERRY

Rhode Island State College